

**БЪЛГАРИСТИКАТА
В ЗОРАТА
НА ДВАДЕСЕТ И ПЪРВИ ВЕК:
БЪЛГАРО – АМЕРИКАНСКАТА
ПЕРСПЕКТИВА ЗА
НАУЧНИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ**

**BULGARIAN STUDIES AT
THE DAWN OF
THE 21st CENTURY:
A BULGARIAN-AMERICAN
PERSPECTIVE**

ИК • ГУТЕНБЕРГ •

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БЪГАРО-АМЕРИКАНСКАТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВА
ЗА НАУЧНИ ИЗСЛЕДВАНИЯ**

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INNOVATION IN BULGARIAN ECONOMY DURING TRANSFORMATION PERIOD

(some results of surveys)

Rossitsa Chobanova

Introduction

The active involvement of the national human intellectual abilities and the resources and materials needed for undertaking innovation should be the main engine for economic development of Bulgaria in 21 century. The former administratively planned command economy collapsed at the end of the 1980s because of the absence of enough incentives to innovate and to compete in the global economy. Great expectations then came to be placed on the transformation of the economy into a market-oriented one. But this transformation has taken more time than was at first expected.

The fragile macroeconomic stabilisation that took place in the period between 1994 and 1995 (see Table 1) was followed by turbulent developments in economy at the end of 1996 and early 1997. The collapse of the COMECON market has affected Bulgarian industry very negatively, especially innovation activities. This factor has affected the small and open Bulgarian economy more than that of other former socialist countries. The turnover between Bulgaria and COMECON countries was 60% of the Bulgarian GDP in the 1980s, and the main partner was Russia. During the 1990s the structure of the trade has changed. Now the main countries to which Bulgaria exports are the OECD, representing 51.2% of the total exports. Exports to the countries in Central and Eastern Europe make up 33.1%, and to other countries 15%. The main Bulgarian source for imports are the OECD countries, amounting to 46.9%, followed by CEE countries, 42.6%, and others, 10.5%. Russia is still the main trade partner but with a significantly lower share than before. It has continued to be the main supplier of energy resources.

During the period of transformation from 1990 to 1997 Bulgaria has lost over 50 per cent of the value of its long-term fixed assets, with losses in the high-tech sectors being even higher (see Table 2).¹

The introduction of the currency board of July 1997 has been followed by financial stabilisation, but has not fulfilled the expectations about increasing innovation

activities in the enterprises. This is the policy of rapid privatisation as a tool for attracting investors to renew the enterprises. Nor have expectations for higher foreign direct investment been fulfilled (see Table 1). Despite the estimated GDP growth of 4% in 1998 and the fixed exchange rate (Leva per DM), and approximately favourable interest rates for the period after the introduction of the currency board, investment and innovation activities are still very low². The gross fixed investment in the country is very small.

Table 1: Selected macroeconomic indicators for Bulgaria relevant to innovation

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997 (estimated)	1998 (projection)
<i>Output and expenditure (Percentage change)</i>								
GDP at constant prices	- 11.7	- 7.3	- 1.5	1.8	2.1	-10.9	- 6.9	4.0
Private consumption	-15.7	1.0	- 0.7	- 2.6	- 1.8	- 7.5	-15.7	NA
Public consumption	-10.3	-14.6	-12.6	-11.5	- 7.4	-31.8	-14.2	NA
Gross fixed investment	-19.9	-7.3	-17.5	1.1	8.8	-13.5	-22.1	NA
Industrial gross output	-21.0	- 6.4	- 6.2	6.0	- 5.4	- 8.3	- 7.0	NA
<i>Exchange rates</i>								
Exchange rate, end-year (<i>Leva per \$US</i>)	21.9	24.5	32.7	66.0	70.7	487.4	1777	NA
Exchange rate, annual average (<i>Leva per \$US</i>)	18.1	23.3	27.6	54.1	67.2	177.9	1641	NA
Consumer prices, end year (<i>percentage change</i>)	338.9	79.42	63.86	121.9	32.9	310.8	578.5	10
Fixed exchange rate (<i>Leva per DM</i>)							1000	1000
<i>External sector</i>								
Net foreign direct investment (<i>\$US m</i>)	56	42	40	105	82	100	497	300

Sources: National Statistical Institute, Bulgaria; *Transition Report 1998*, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Table 2: Annual change in the value of long-term fixed assets*

<i>Sectors</i>	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Industry	-8.50	-9.46	-10.00	-8.10	-6.70	-11.50	-12.60
Construction	-7.30	-9.90	-8.50	-8.30	-9.90	-10.60	-11.40
Agriculture	-5.80	-11.50	-12.00	-12.10	-12.60	-12.80	-13.80
Transport	-10.70	-11.80	-11.60	-11.90	-11.10	-11.90	-12.30

Telecommunications	-5.10	-7.20	-8.80	-9.00	-6.60	-6.80	-7.80
Commerce	-2.80	3.40	0.70	-5.80	-4.90	-5.00	-5.80
Others	-12.60	-7.00	-2.20	-2.90	-8.80	-9.00	12.00

**Note:* The calculations are on the basis of the old classification. In 1995 the industrial classification was changed.

Source: Author's calculations on the basis of National Statistical Institute data.

The low level of private and public consumption is not a strong stimulus for product innovations in enterprises. Nor does the low level of gross fixed investment assist in stimulating innovation activity in the country. Macroeconomic stabilisation is followed very slowly by microeconomic stabilisation, especially at firm level. The rapid privatisation process has not had any great effect for activating innovation activities in the country.

Innovation in the enterprises has become the core of the innovation system in the current stage of economic development of contemporary society. The problems related to innovation in Bulgaria consist, above all, in the poor financial situation of the enterprises, the lack of modern equipment in most of them, some inadequacies in banking and taxation, as well as in economic legislation, which hampers commitment to the rather risky activity of innovation. The grey and black economies and Mafia structures in the country also play their negative role.

A survey on barriers to innovation in Bulgarian enterprises has been provided for the beginning of the second period of stabilisation and growth in the Bulgarian economy in the 1990s. It was aimed at obtaining basic data on innovation activities of the enterprises, as well as being a base for interpreting and drawing some conclusions for improving the level of innovative activities in the enterprises..

The present paper considers part of the research undertaken. Section 2 assesses recent state-of-the-art surveys on innovation in Bulgaria and in some other countries in transition. Section 3 looks at some aspects of the methodology used for the survey of 1997. Section 4 considers some of the leading results of the survey, showing sources of innovation ideas, and factors assisting and factors hampering innovation. Section 5 draws conclusions and interpretations of the results.

2. Recent state-of-the-art surveys on innovation in Bulgaria and some other countries in transition

There are three surveys in Bulgaria which provide information about innovation activities in the country (see Table 3). They comprise the period from the beginning of the transformation of the economy into a market-oriented one in 1990 until 1997.

The first survey was conducted in the period 1994–1995 as part of the project *Technological change in the Bulgarian economy* supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, the Institute of Economics with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Association for Economy and Democracy. The answers consider the period of 1990–1995, making some comparisons with the period 1980–1990. The survey was based on developing the author's questionnaire.³

The survey was carried out among 20 Bulgarian firms, the largest in terms of their sales in different sectors or with a dominant market share for different products in the country or in the region. They were investigated by applying face-to-face interviews.

The questionnaire encompassed the problems of the companies' general condition, the technological state of the long-term fixed assets, the state of their own research and development basis, the internal and external factors for their technological renovation, the scenarios and models of technological change, their goals and long-term strategies for the 1995–2000 period.

Table 3: Sources of information about innovation activities in Bulgaria, 1990–1997

<i>Survey taken</i>	1994-1995	1996	1997
<i>Surveyed period</i>	1989-1995 (1980-1995)	1996	1995-1997
<i>Subject</i>	Tehnology change	Foreign investment as a channel for technology transfer	Barriers to innovation
<i>Methodology</i>	Developed by the author in the framework of a Bulgarian Academy of Sciences project	Developed by an international team from Bulgaria and the Netherlands	Based on the Oslo Manual for collecting technological innovation data and previous experience
<i>No. of surveyed enterprises</i>	20	50	112
<i>Financial support*</i>	MEST, BAS, AED	PECO COPERNICUS	PHARE, MES, AED

* *Note:* MEST (MES — 1997) = Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (Ministry of Education and Science); BAS = Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; AED = Association for Economy and Democracy

It is now possible to say that the methodology applied for this first survey has some similarities with the OECD guidelines, but the author did not have information about such guidelines during the preparation of the questionnaire and provision of the survey. Areas investigated in some respects were narrower than those offered by the OECD, and wider in others. The answers of this first survey on innovation activities in Bulgaria for the period of the reforms covered more deeply data concerning assessment of the contemporary level of innovation in the firms' technologies and products as well as organizational structure. Some questions about number, sex and qualification of the staff of the enterprises and their change were asked as well.

The first survey (1994–1995) in Bulgaria, which is a source of information about innovation activities in the period of transition, included questions concerning evaluation of the state and sources of the innovation activities which are not involved in the OECD manual. Among them are the following:

- rate of renewal of equipment by years, 1980–1990;
- countries of origin of the machinery imported for the period 1980-1990 and their share in total new equipment obtained yearly;
- countries of origin of the machinery imported for the period 1990-1995 and their

- share in total new equipment obtained yearly;
- market regions for the enterprises: European Union, Russia, Black Sea region, Balkan region, Arab world, and others;
- expert assessment of the level of firms' technologies, as well as of the imported technology, in terms of knowledge of the market and knowledge of the expert giving the interview, with the assessment being scaled between 1 and 100.

The second survey (1996) was provided as a part of the PECO COPERNICUS project, *Foreign Direct Investment as a Channel for Technology Transfer*.⁴ The questionnaire was developed by an international team from Bulgaria and the Netherlands. 50 enterprises were interviewed: 25 of them were foreign companies and 25 were joint ventures. The results characterized the absorption potential for innovation in the enterprises. The characteristics of the level of the absorption potential was ranked separately by foreign investors and by domestic experts. The needs for types of technology innovation were ranked by both groups, from the point of view of foreign investors and of domestic experts.

Some cross-national comparisons of surveys on innovation can be made on the basis of OECD data and data collected by this author on the basis of the interviews. The common methodological base of the Oslo Manual for collecting and interpreting technological innovation data allows some comparisons, but they may not be fully representative. The reasons are that the number of surveyed units relative to all enterprises differs in the different countries (see Table 4), and different sectors have been covered by the different surveys. The latest Bulgarian survey has included research organizations as subjects of investigations (see Table 5). In some countries the surveys have been provided as a part of regular annual surveys of the national statistical authorities (e.g. Poland, Russia). In most countries the surveys have been initiated and provided by small research teams and incorporate information from the enterprises which are involved in their network. The data concerning innovation activities provided by the surveys cover different periods (two or three years, or future projects for innovation activities).

The first round of surveys in the region allows one to draw some conclusions that are indicative for the innovative activities in the region and is a step towards surveys which are representative and whose results may be more comparable.

Table 4: Contemporary innovation survey statistics in Central and Eastern Europe

<i>Countries</i>	Provided	Planned	Based on the Oslo Manual	No. of surveyed units
Belarus	yes		no	
Bulgaria	1995 1996 1997	yes	1995-no 1996-no 1997-yes	112
Croatia	no			
Czech Republic	no	yes	yes	
Estonia	no	1998	no	

Hungary	1994	1997	1994	1994-110
Kazakhstan	no	yes	yes	
Latvia	no	1998	1998	100
Lithuania	no	1997	1998	1000
Poland	1980 1996		1996	1996-8000
Romania	Pilot		1995	2220
Russia	1995		partly-1995	17,000
Slovakia	no	yes	yes	150?
Slovenia	1996	1998 yes	yes	557
Ukraine	yes		yes	220

Sources: OECD Science and Technology Statistical Systems in Central and Eastern European Countries, 1996: National Profiles, Paris, 1997; as well as author's database.

Table 5: Definition of units of observation in Central and Eastern Europe

<i>Country</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Belarus	Enterprises producing and testing experimental products
Bulgaria	102 enterprises and 10 research organisations with innovative projects during the period 1995–1997
Hungary	Enterprises with R&D with more than 100 employees and/or net sales of more than 300m Hungarian forints or a balance of more than 150m forints
Lithuania	The surveyed enterprises have introduced new products or processes in the last three years, or have improved products and intend to allocate resources for innovation
Poland	Big enterprises with more than 30 or 50 employees, depending on the branch. 1996 survey is representative of medium-sized enterprises, with between 6 and 20 or 6 and 50 employees, depending on the branch
Romania	Production enterprises with more than 50 employees
Russia	Enterprises in which industrial surveys are provided annually
	EUROSTAT recommendations
Ukraine	Representative survey of more than 25% of industrial enterprises

Source: OECD Science and Technology Statistical Systems in Central and Eastern European Countries, 1996: National Profiles, OECD, Paris, 1997, and author's data collected on the base of interview.

3. Methodology of the survey on barriers to innovation in Bulgaria (1997)

The official statistical sources of information about innovation activities in enterprises are not sufficient for practical policy-making. Data on R&D expenditures and personnel, patents and scientific publications, as conventional sources for data, do not provide full and reliable information on the innovation activities of enterprises.⁵ It is necessary to apply the methods of survey statistics in order to pursue the processes of innovation activities in the country and to provide surveys based on face-to-face interviews as a new source of information relating to this subject.

The 1997 survey on barriers to innovations was undertaken in 112 enterprises and research institutions in Bulgaria. The purpose of the survey was to obtain basic data on innovation activity in enterprises.

The units of observation that were selected for the survey were 102 enterprises which had introduced innovation projects in the previous 2 years (1995-1997) and 10 research organisations. The analyses in the present paper mainly consider results obtained from the enterprises. The source of information is the face-to-face interview, undertaken by a team of the Institute of Economics at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. It is based on the OECD Oslo Manual for collecting and interpreting technological innovation data⁶ as well as on the experience of the team in providing surveys in specific Bulgarian conditions. The enterprises surveyed are a part of the network developed by the team during the previous surveys they provided.

Definitions

For the purposes of the survey, a technology is interpreted broadly as a whole complex of knowledge, skills, routines, competence, equipment and engineering practice which are necessary to produce a product. A new product rests on a change in this underlying technology. Innovation is understood as a process of changing an idea into a product, process or service, of changing the mode of organisation within firms or among firms, or more generally of transforming creativity into profit. Innovation includes many scientific, technological, organisational, financial and economic activities. Technological innovations are a part of overall innovation that cover new products, processes, services and forms of organisation.

An innovation is introduced when it first appears on the market (product or service innovation) or is used in the production process (process innovation), or when the work processes and/or structures of the organisation have been changed.

A product, process, service or type of organisation must be new or fundamentally improved for the enterprise, but not necessarily new to the market as a whole.

Innovation activities involve all scientific, technological, organisational, financial and economic activities which lead to the introduction (or are intended for the introduction) of new or improved services: R&D activities, purchases of machines and equipment for introducing technologically new or improved services, purchases of technology in the form of intangible fixed assets (patents, trademarks, licences) and knowledge and experience (know-how), preparations for the introduction of technologically new or improved services, marketing of new services, changes in the work process and/or the structure of the firm.

R&D expenditures have included both intramural and extramural expenditures: they concern R&D associated with the enterprises, irrespective of the source of finance or funds intended for the payment of R&D services, and include that performed for

the enterprise by another organisation. R&D expenditures do not show the full level of technological accumulation in the firms from the point of view of the complexity in production and management.⁷ The information they offer in these respects mainly relates to efforts to absorb new technologies, part of which include the efforts to cover the gap between existing practice and best practice for the firm (this is the case for innovations that are new to the firm but not new to the market). They are therefore broader than simply expenditures on new breakthroughs.

Coverage

The methodology and procedure (face-to-face interviews) have taken into account the specific conditions of the country. An implication of the OECD guidelines in this survey has been permitting some comparisons with innovation activities in the European Union and other countries from Eastern and Central Europe.

The contents of the questionnaire are as follows:

- data on persons giving interviews and persons getting interviewed;
- general information about the enterprise;
- sources of innovative ideas;
- factors assisting innovation;
- factors hampering innovation;
- suggestions for state policy:
 - ⇒ to be included in the National Plan for Technological Development,
 - ⇒ to the Parliament,
 - ⇒ to the Government,
 - ⇒ to the EU - areas for innovative co-operation
- a description of the case of a successful innovative project.

In order to receive more precise data about the influence of concrete norms and regulations, the questionnaire has distinctive questions for factors hampering innovation. The method applied allows estimation of the frequency of influence of different factors which assist or hamper innovation, as well as of use of sources of innovation ideas. The frequencies are ranked as follows: "often" - 1, "sometimes" - 2 and "no" - 3. The data provided in this paper (point 3) refer mainly to the answers ranked "often".

General information about enterprises has included, in the first place, the most general characteristics of the organizations with respect to their branch and regional affiliation, legal status (independent, part of a conglomerate, division of an enterprise or other unit, availability of direct relations with other enterprises), size (according to the number of employees), main economic activity (production organization, main type of economic specialization of production, R&D expenditures turnover ratio, and R&D expenditures/exports ratio).

The surveyed units are respondents from enterprises and research organizations with innovative projects during the last two years, 1995-1997. The surveyed enterprises belong to 17 industrial branches, spread across the whole country, with 42 enterprises being private and 70 state-owned. According to the data provided about successful projects for innovation, 18% of the cases represent introduction of new products and technologies, 20% improvement of existing technological processes and 24% are organisational innovations.

The enterprises surveyed have been divided according to the number of persons

in paid employment in 9 size classes: up to 9, 10-19, 20-49, 50-99, 100-499, 500-999, 1000- 1999, 2000-2500, and above 2500. Table 6 presents the coverage of the survey according to the size of the organizational structure they work within and to the territorial units where the organizational structure is located.

Table 6: Distribution of the enterprises surveyed by town location and by size (employment)

The survey was carried out in 18 towns, the largest number of enterprises being

Employment Towns	Below 10	11 to 19	20 to 49	50 to 99	100 to 499	500 to 999	1000 to 1999	2000 and above	No data	Total
1. Assenovgrad	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
2. Blagoevgrad	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
3. Burgas	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
4. Varna	-	-	-	-	2	2	3	1	1	9
5. Velingrad	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
6. Devnya	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
7. Dimitrovgrad	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	5
8. Karlovo	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
9. Karnobat	5	1	1	5	5	-	-	-	-	17
10. Lovech	-	-	-	-	3	1	2	-	-	6
11. Panagyurishte	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
12. Pernik	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
13. Plovdiv	-	1	2	3	1	2	2	-	-	11
14. Samokov	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
15. Sopot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
16. Sofia	10	7	1	5	8	1	2	5	1	40
17. Troyan	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
18. Haskovo	-	-	1	-	-	4	2	-	-	7
Total	16	11	6	14	24	16	16	7	2	112

in Sofia with over one-third of the total, second was Karnobat (17 units, mainly SMEs), and third was Plovdiv (11 units). In 6 towns only one enterprise was interviewed. The group covering between 2000 and 2500 employees includes no enterprises, so it has been combined with the next group to form a joint range of firms with over 2000 employees.

The distribution of the units surveyed in terms of their R&D intensity measured by the R&D expenditure/turnover ratio shows the greatest share to accrue to the largest group (and is less than 1% for 41 of the cases). Export intensity is greater in cases of larger firms and weaker in small enterprises: companies with more than 100 employees have an export intensity of over 50 per cent, while for enterprises with more than 500 employees the percentage is 67. The relation between the R&D intensity and export intensity indicates a simultaneous increase of the two percentages, although in small enterprises the increased R&D intensity does not directly influence the export intensity.

The survey was carried out among top managers, specialists and research workers from economic and scientific organizations in Bulgaria. In terms of the position occupied in the enterprise, 91 of the respondents (over 80%) were top managers and had an overall view of the activities of the respective organization. For the rest, 10 persons were senior executives and 8 were specialists involved in production organization. The persons interviewed were eminent and well-qualified specialists, with knowledge and experience in their respective area, who could be considered indicative with regard to the answers to the questionnaire.

Representativeness

The results of the survey of innovation activities of Bulgarian enterprises allow an assessment of the representativeness of the survey from the viewpoint of enterprise size. There is an almost balanced representation of both small and larger economic structures, which validates the results overall and makes it possible to group the categories in order to include a larger number of units and obtain more adequate and representative results. If the upper limit of number of employees of SMEs is set at 500, then this group comprises 71 enterprises, and 33 organizations have up to 50 employees. Another 23 enterprises have over 1000 employees. These data allow an assumption that, from the point of view of the size of enterprises, the survey in Bulgaria is representative. The representativeness of the survey should not be overestimated, in spite of the large number of units covered; yet the number of indexes allows for most of them to be of an indicative though not fully representative character.

The respondents of the survey are well-known and respected specialists, with considerable knowledge and experience, which gives some confidence in the reliability of their responses. The method applied in the survey, of a face-to-face interview taking between 30 and 40 minutes, is another feature which characterizes the reliability of the data collected. In addition, most interviews have been undertaken by experts, as has also occurred in the previous surveys of innovation, technology transfer and technology change.

4. Some results of the survey on barriers to innovation in Bulgarian enterprises and research organizations (1997)

The results of the survey which are discussed further here are only a part of the complete survey. They concern sources of innovation, factors assisting and factors hampering innovation in Bulgaria. The sources of innovation are distinguished between those internal and those external to the firms.

Internal sources of innovation in Bulgarian innovative enterprises

Internal sources are those which are within the enterprise or within the group of enterprises. The specified internal sources of innovative ideas are seven:

- top management
- in-house R&D
- marketing
- production
- in-house incentive schemes
- monitoring of technological development
- personnel with technical qualifications.

The greatest significance among the internal sources for innovations in Bulgarian enterprises has been shown to be the *initiative of top management* - in general, and particularly for the enterprises with 100 to 500 employees. The second-ranked sources of innovation are *specialists with technical qualifications* and *in-house R&D*, which apply mostly to larger firms (with over 2000 employees). Of relatively limited significance are the *in-house incentive schemes* and *monitoring of technological development* (insofar as they exist in larger firms but less so in small enterprises).

The fact that the initiative of top management has the greatest significance for innovative activities in the country is a very specific result in comparison to much of the data from EC and CEE countries. This fact can be explained from two points of view. The first is connected with the characteristics of the persons being interviewed. About 80% of them are top managers, and it is possible to expect that their opinion is not representative enough because it involves self-estimation. There are, on the other hand, some arguments that this result is representative for the surveyed enterprises.

In the first place, it is the fact that the predominant part of Bulgarian managers are neither politicians nor economists, but engineers. Engineers make up 78% of the respondents. They are well-educated in Bulgarian technical universities and polytechnics, because the educational programme was prepared to meet the specialization by Bulgaria in high-tech industries for the former COMECON market.

Another argument that the result is representative for the surveyed enterprises concerns the period of survey (1995-1997), which was a period of turbulent developments in a small and open economy, when the priorities at the macro and micro levels, as well as in state intervention, were far away from the problems of innovation, and in practice only top managers would be a source of innovation.

Most European programmes and UNIDO aimed their aid at other purposes than innovation. The IMF and World Bank excluded innovation in their priorities for supporting innovation activities in Bulgaria for the period surveyed.⁸ EU support was not effective enough, amongst other reasons because of the unethical Greek coordination, and received a strongly negative assessment of the experts involved in the discussion of the results of the survey on barriers to innovation in the country.

In these conditions it seems logical that the initiative of top managers would be the main source of innovation in Bulgaria.

External sources of innovative ideas

The sources of innovative ideas which are external to the enterprises can be

distinguished into two groups: domestic and foreign sources. The domestic external sources of innovative ideas considered are:

- public support programmes of innovation (funds, branch unions, regional associations, state contracts, etc.)
- fairs, exhibitions, meetings
- the situation of competition
- acquisition of embodied technology
- acquisition of disembodied technology
- influence from different forms of training
- co-operation and proposals from customers
- co-operation with consultants
- co-operation with sub-contractors
- co-operation with other (related, complementary production) enterprises
- co-operation with research institutes and universities
- science and technical literature
- patents
- commercial literature
- legislation, norms, regulations
- standards
- taxation and other specific economic regulations.

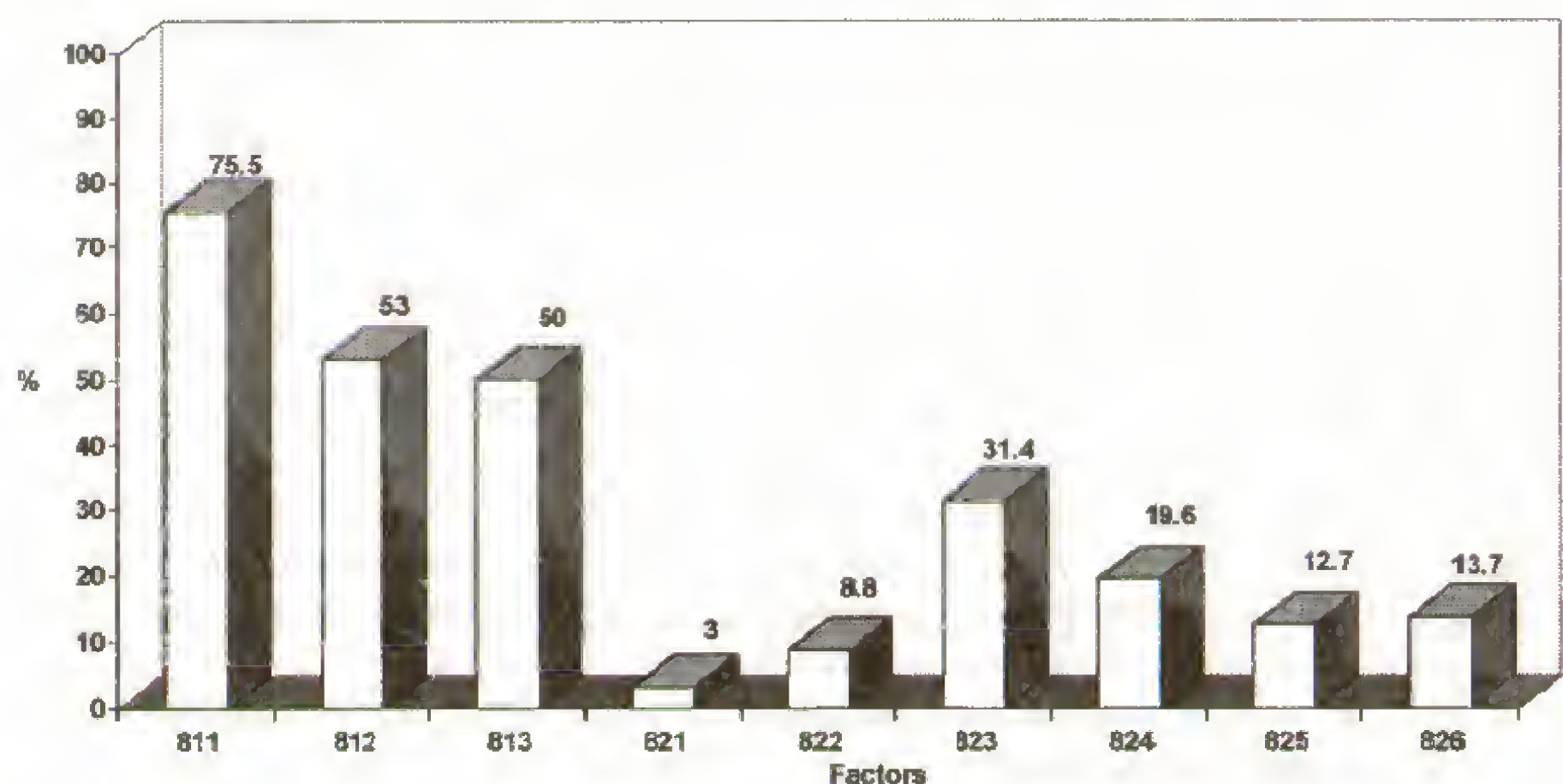
Within the group of domestic external sources of innovation, the *competitive situation* in the country is of smallest significance, and the second smallest is the *scientific and technical literature available*. The former can be explained by the distorted market brought about by decreased consumption in the country (see Table 1), which does not stimulate competition to introduce new technologies. The influence of the various forms of *co-operation with sub-contractors* is also of relatively limited significance. But foreign competition is a factor which assists innovation activities in the enterprises. The variations based on the size of the enterprises are insignificant.

According to the survey *the importance of internal sources of innovative ideas in Bulgarian enterprises is greater than that of external sources*. Of special significance is the interest on the part of the top management which generates innovative ideas, as mentioned above. In terms of external sources of innovative ideas, the *co-operation with customers/suppliers and with other firms* are of importance.

Factors assisting innovation in Bulgarian enterprises

The factors assisting innovation in Bulgarian enterprises and frequency of the sorts of influence ranked as arising "often" by respondents of the survey are as follows:

Figure 1: Factors assisting innovation ranked “often” (%)



Legend:

- 811 contribution of top management
- 812 co-operation of R&D with marketing and production
- 813 personnel with technical qualifications
- 821 public support programmes for innovation
- 822 use of advisory services
- 823 co-operation with customers/suppliers
- 824 co-operation with other firms
- 825 co-operation with research institutes
- 826 co-operation with universities

The average weighting of each factor assisting the success of innovation (internal and external) can be seen from the following table:

Table 7: Average importance of each factor assisting realisation of innovative activities (weighted scores)*

Factor	Score
811: contribution of top management	2.72
812: co-operation of R&D with marketing and production	2.42
813: personnel with specific qualification	2.33
821: public support programmes for innovation	1.24
822: use of advisory services	1.56
823: co-operation with customers/suppliers	2.20
824: co-operation with other firms	2.04
825: co-operation with research institutes	1.69
826: co-operation with universities	1.59
Average	1.98

* Note: The importance is weighted as follows:
3 = “often”; 2 = “sometimes”; 1 = “no”.

The strongest factors assisting innovation in Bulgaria, shown by the highest scores in Table 7, are: interest on the part of the top management, co-operation of R&D with marketing and production, availability of personnel with technical qualifications, co-operation with customers/suppliers and with other firms. The fact that top management is the main factor assisting innovative activities in Bulgarian enterprises can be explained in a similar way as the analysis above of the main sources of innovation ideas in enterprises.

Co-operation with other enterprises is the most frequently mentioned factor for encouraging innovative projects (on the average about 60% of the subjects interviewed). About 35% of the respondents pointed out as factors sometimes assisting innovative activities: co-operation with customers/suppliers, co-operation with research institutes (which characterises the way in which the innovation system in Bulgaria has developed), as well as co-operation of R&D with marketing and production and the availability of personnel with technical qualifications, as was mentioned before.

Factors hampering innovation

The factors which hamper innovation are those which constitute barriers to innovative success by either slowing down or stopping innovative projects altogether for the period of 1995-1997.

The average weighted values for every type of factors hampering the success of innovation (economic factors, insufficient innovation potential and other reasons) can be seen in Table 8.

Table 8: Average importance of each factor hampering innovative activities (weighted scores)*

<i>Economic factors and innovation potential</i>	<i>Total</i>
911: excessive perceived risks	2.08
912: lack of appropriate sources of finance	2.68
913: innovation cost too high	2.34
914: pay-off period of innovation too long	2.21
921: R&D expenditure too small	2.52
922: qualitative shortcomings of own R&D	2.02
923: lack of skilled personnel	1.60
924: lack of information on technology	1.82
925: lack of information on markets	1.83
926: innovation costs hard to control	1.57
927: deficiencies in the provision of external services	1.59
928: lack of opportunities for co-operation	1.72
931: innovation has no place in the firm's strategy	1.28
932: lack of technological opportunity	1.86
933: no need to innovate due to earlier innovation	1.28
934: innovation too easy to copy	1.72
935: legislation, norms, regulations, standards, taxation	2.04
936: VAT in particular	2.31
937: corporate tax in particular	2.18

938: imports regime and customs duties of this country	2.25
939: exports regime and customs duties of other countries	1.74
940: lack of customer responsiveness to new products and processes	1.56
941: uncertainty in timing of innovation	1.73
<i>Average</i>	1.92

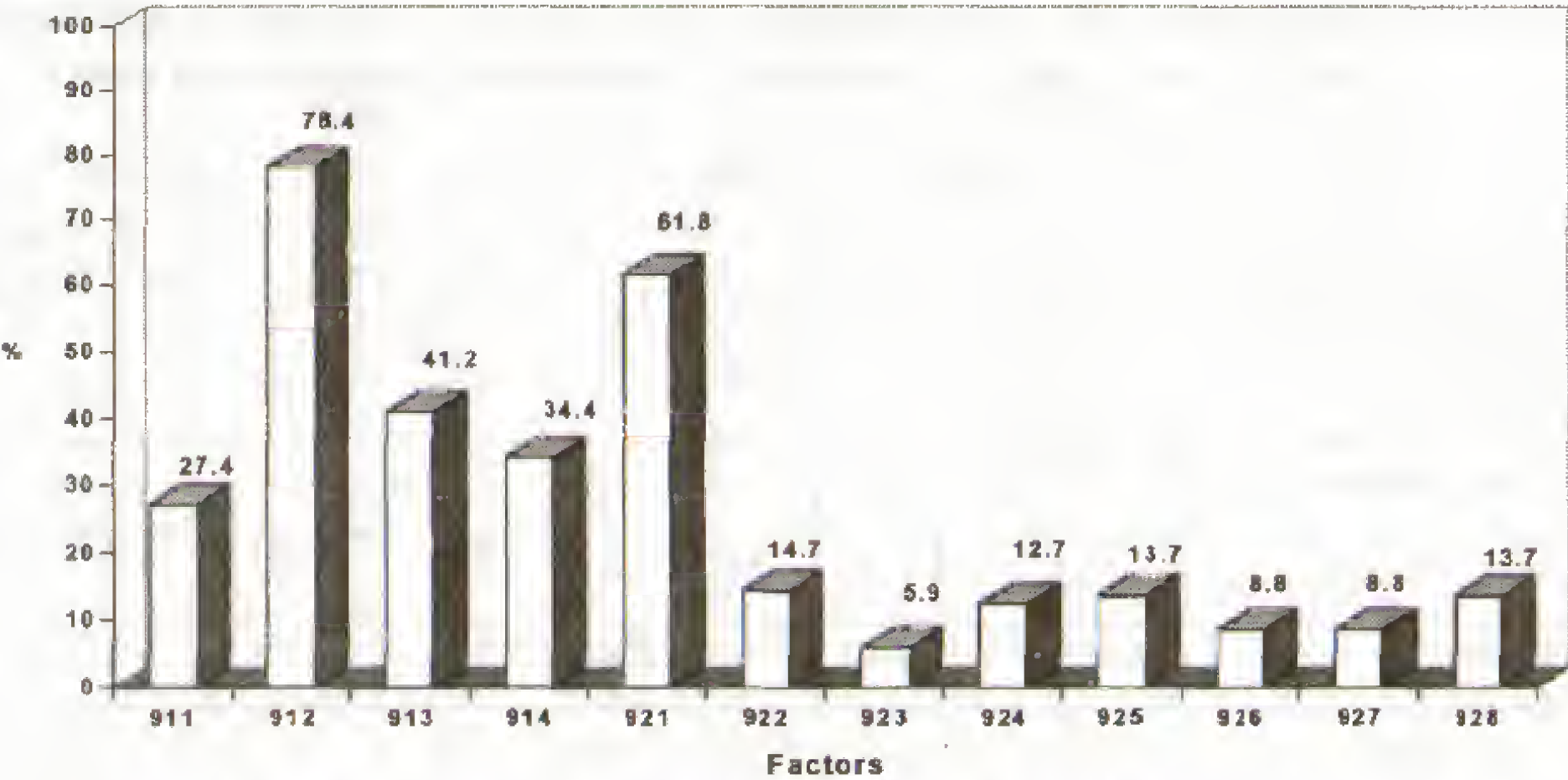
* *Note:* for scoring system, see Table 7.

Among the most important economic factors hampering innovation, the lack of appropriate sources of finance ranks first (scoring 2.68), and for insufficient innovation potential again the first place is occupied by too small R&D expenditures (scoring 2.52).

With similar results, the percentages of those answering “often” to the particular factors hampering innovation are graphed in Figure 2. The most important factors hampering the successful implementation of the innovation projects in Bulgaria, according to over 60% of the respondents (in the case of the specialists - 100% and 70%, respectively), are the lack of suitable sources for financing and a too small expenditure on R&D. Between 30% and 40% of the subjects interviewed consider the unduly long period for a return on spending on R&D, the much larger sums spent on innovation, as well as the great risks involved, to be factors hampering innovation.

Conversely, less than 20% of the respondents (an average of 15% for all factors) mention as *frequent* barriers to the implementation of innovation projects the following factors: qualitative shortcomings of own R&D, lack of skilled personnel, lack of information on contemporary technologies and markets, innovation costs too hard to control, deficiencies in the provision of external services, lack of opportunities for co-operation. Only 15% of the large enterprises have mentioned excessive perceived risks in carrying out innovative projects as an “often” hampering factor. About 30% of the specialists define the lack of sufficient information on markets as an “often” hampering factor.

Figure 1: Factors hampering innovation ranked “often” (%)



Key: for the meaning of each factor, see Table 9 below.

The following Table (Table 9) illustrates the coefficients for the hindrances imposed by economic factors and insufficient innovation potential, in terms of their distribution in relation to R&D intensity in the enterprises. As can be seen from the table, the presence of unfavourable conditions for the action of the individual factors correlates with the respective percentages of R&D intensity. With higher scores implying the greater hindrance imposed by the particular factor, it emerges that some factors are more powerful in R&D-intensive firms (e.g. long pay-off periods for the innovations, and even the too small level of R&D expenditures), while others are seen as more hampering in low R&D intensity firms (e.g. excessive perceived risks, lack of skilled personnel). However the differences in scores on average, at the foot of the table, are not very large.

Table 9: Average importance of each factor hampering innovative activities, according to R&D intensity (weighted scores)*

<i>R&D intensity</i>	Below 1%	1% to 4%	Above -4%	No data	Average
911: excessive perceived risks	2.23	2.03	1.91	2.00	2.08
912: lack of appropriate sources of finance	2.73	2.63	2.64	3.00	2.68
913: innovation cost too high	2.33	2.38	2.30	2.33	2.34
914: pay-off period of innovation too long	2.14	2.21	2.39	1.67	2.21
921: R&D expenditure too small	2.54	2.46	2.67	2.33	2.54
922: qualitative shortcomings of own R&D	2.14	1.97	2.00	1.67	2.04
923: lack of skilled personnel	1.81	1.41	1.52	1.67	1.60
924: lack of information on technology	1.84	1.86	1.82	1.67	1.84
925: lack of information on markets	1.77	1.89	1.78	2.33	1.83
926: innovation costs hard to control	1.67	1.49	1.50	1.67	1.57
927: deficiencies in provision of external services	1.68	1.46	1.73	1.67	1.61
928: lack of opportunities for co-operation	1.66	1.73	1.87	1.33	1.72

* *Note:* for scoring system, see Table 7.

Table 10: Average importance of factors most adversely affecting innovative activities, according to number of employees (weighted scores)*

<i>No. of employees</i> <i>Factors</i>	<10	10-19	20-49	50-99	100-499	500-999	1000-1999	>2500	No data
912 (inadequate finance)	2.44	2.73	3.00	2.92	2.79	2.50	2.56	2.71	3.00
921 (low R&D)	2.33	2.36	2.60	2.69	2.67	2.50	2.44	2.57	2.50
913 (high innovation cost)	2.13	2.45	2.25	2.42	2.39	2.44	2.56	1.71	2.00
937 (corporate tax)	2.56	2.60	2.50	2.42	2.00	2.19	2.25	2.71	1.50
938 (duties)	2.27	2.36	2.25	2.33	2.18	2.12	2.19	2.71	1.50
914 (long pay-off)	2.07	2.18	2.00	2.00	2.30	2.56	2.12	2.29	1.50
936 (VAT)	2.06	2.60	2.50	2.18	1.86	2.37	2.06	2.71	1.50

911 (risk)	2.50	1.90	2.50	2.18	1.81	2.12	2.07	1.86	2.00
915 (regulations)	2.20	2.27	2.00	1.80	1.68	2.37	2.06	2.00	2.00
	1.87	1.90	1.67	2.08	2.05	2.31	2.00	1.86	2.00
<i>Average weighted impact**</i>	2.24	2.33	2.33	2.30	2.17	2.35	2.23	2.31	1.95

* *Note:* for scoring system, see Table 7.

** Average weight of above 10 factors only.

Key: for fuller description of factors 912 to 922 see Table 9 above

935 = Legislation, norms, regulations, standards, certification procedures

936 = Limitations imposed by the value-added tax

937 = Limitations imposed by corporate taxation

938 = Limitations imposed by the imports regime

Table 10 uses the number of employees rather than the R&D intensity as a measure of size, and shows the distribution of scores across the size classes. The table reports only the ten factors ranking highest overall as adversely affecting innovation.⁹ Again there are differences of impact according to size. Some factors particularly affect larger firms (e.g. low spending on R&D), some smaller firms (e.g. inadequate finance, high risk, regulatory obstacles), and some the medium-sized firms (e.g. low spending on R&D, poor quality of own R&D, high cost of innovation).

5. Some interpretations and conclusions based on the results of the survey on barriers to innovation in Bulgaria

The poor financial situation of Bulgarian enterprises during the transition period has negatively affected their innovative activities. And it is not surprising that *“the poor financial situation of the firms”* is mentioned as the main barrier to innovation according to the results of the survey.

The data and analysis provided have shown that the state of innovative activities in Bulgarian enterprises does not correspond to the country’s potential, especially in terms of the quality of its human resources.

Under conditions of financial stabilization and growth there are some positive expectations for increasing the extent of innovation activities in the country. The main factors assisting innovation, regardless of the size of the enterprises, are the *contribution of top management* (most of whom are engineers) and the *availability of personnel with specific qualifications*. The reason for this very specifically Bulgarian factor assisting innovation can be explained by Bulgaria’s former specialization in high-tech industries in the framework of COMECON, under whose planned specialization it developed high educational standards as well as national traditions of the value of education.

A very important factor for increasing innovation activities in the country is the *demand for innovation products*. The state is no longer a major driving force for innovations in the country. There is an evident *tendency towards decreasing the state’s direct intervention in innovative activities* at the expense of market forces. Innovative activity in Bulgarian enterprises is closely related to the markets for their production.

The external market has a somewhat higher impact on innovation activities in the country than the internal market. This is due to the fact that the economy is small in scale and open. Higher percentages of export orientation of Bulgarian enterprises correlate with higher spending on innovation. *International competition* is thus of special importance for innovation. The growth of R&D expenditures in the surveyed innovative enterprises has been accompanied by an increase of their export intensity, although for small enterprises the rising R&D intensity does not so directly influence the export intensity. *External demand* is therefore an especially important and stimulating factor for innovation in Bulgarian enterprises.

The "narrow and shallow" Bulgarian *internal market*, as well as the poor financial situation of enterprises and the the level of domestic competition, fail to stimulate their innovative activities. But consumers, especially in the area of building, have been a source for increasing innovation activities in 1997, as the survey has shown. The great significance attributed to finding the *co-operation of R&D with marketing and production* as a factor assisting innovation indicates that R&D activities should be subjected to the requirements of the market, and those of international markets in particular.

According to the results of the survey the larger firms are those whose share of R&D expenditures in their turnover is higher compared to smaller ones, and especially when they are profitable and export-oriented. It should be mentioned here that R&D expenditures are not the only source of information about technological accumulation in the firms from the viewpoint of present-day standards of complexity in the innovation process. R&D expenditures characterise only certain aspects of the efforts to introduce new technologies in the firm, but they may be important for observing and absorbing newer technologies developed elsewhere which the firm has yet to adopt.

The survey has shown that both Bulgarian and foreign *patents* are of little significance (low scores of 1.42 for domestic patents and 1.55 for foreign patents) as sources for innovation ideas in Bulgarian enterprises, which suggests one of the directions that might need to be taken by vocational training. The reasons for this result were the poor financial situation in the enterprises and the change of patenting procedures in 1991. Elaboration of the idea to implement *the newest western technologies in Bulgarian enterprises* and to use them as a basis for production of goods both for the countries that are suppliers of the technology and for markets in the Balkans, the Black Sea region, etc., emerges as a possibly positive (and perhaps the only realistic) alternative for the country's development.

Highly skilled manpower, as well as the material assets in some sectors, are considered factors which contribute to their own active involvement in innovative activity (especially in SMEs) and to adapting the newest foreign technologies to Bulgarian enterprises. In larger firms, *the availability of in-house R&D* is an important factor for the adoption of foreign technologies and technological transfer.

The influence of state policy on the innovative activity of the enterprises has been modified from intervening through direct investment in high technologies to creating a competitive environment and supporting the diffusion of new technologies. An increasing role is played by R&D development through international co-operation and education as channels for the transfer and diffusion of new technologies.

The process of accelerated closure of the respective R&D departments during the past seven years receives a negative assessment from the viewpoint of the opportunities for choosing new technologies to be embodied in the enterprises. It is

of considerable concern that the *co-operation with research institutes* (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) and *universities* (the public research base) is not perceived by the representatives of the enterprises as a factor assisting innovation, although the specialists from the institutes are of a different opinion. They have emphasised the *development of scientific research in public organizations*, aimed at the achievement of competitiveness of Bulgarian enterprises in international markets. Special attention is to be paid to supporting the establishment of an infrastructure which would connect the R&D sector and the SMEs. The greatest expectations for doing so lie with the public sector. Education and vocational training would have an important role for increasing innovation activities.

Of special significance for the *public support innovation programmes* in this country are the *international innovative flows*. Emphasis should be laid on the opportunities for foreign investments in customer-oriented R&D. The low price of the highly skilled manpower and national traditions favouring education and professional training are attractive propositions for foreign investors in this area. *International programmes for innovation and co-operation* could be of substantial importance. The protection, as well as the provision of, conditions for reproduction and development of Bulgarian innovation potential require development of an appropriate institutional structure in Bulgaria which would define the priorities and co-ordinate the co-operation of national with European and other foreign programmes.

NOTES

¹ See R. Chobanova (1996), *Technology Change in the Bulgarian Economy*, Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and further estimations.

² See R. Chobanova (1998), 'Macroeconomic environment and innovations', in *Barriers to innovation*, Sofia, CIELA (Member of the Wolters Kluwer Publishing Group), pp. 58-74; and (1995) *Investing Capital in Transitional Economy*, Sofia, Open Society publishers.

³ See 'Technology Change in the Bulgarian Economy' (1996), National Fund for Scientific Investigations in Bulgaria, OHN N430 contract No. 430/1994-96 (in Bulgarian), produced by the team: Dr. R. Chobanova (leader), Dr. P. Ilieva, Dr. S. Ivanov, T. Dimitrov.

⁴ See R. Chobanova (1996), 'Technology Transfer to Bulgaria', in J. Djarova (ed.), *Foreign Direct Investment in Central and Eastern Europe: the case of Bulgaria*, Rotterdam.

⁵ See K. Pavitt (1982), 'R&D, Patenting and Innovative Activities: A Strategic Exploration', *Research Policy*, Vol 11, no. 1, pp. 33-51.

⁶ OECD (1992), *Proposed Guidelines for Collecting and Interpreting Technological Innovation Data (Oslo Manual)*, OECD, Paris.

⁷ N. von Tunzelmann and Q Wang (1997), 'The Dimensions of Complexity in Production and Management', mimeo. SPRU, University of Sussex.

⁸ See R. Chobanova (1995), 'Technology transfer', in Vr. Anachkova, R. Chobanova et al., *Investing Capital in a Transitional Economy*, (collective monograph), Sofia, Open Society Publishers.

⁹ See R. Chobanova (1998), 'Main Barriers to Innovation in Bulgaria and Estimation of Sources for Their Overcoming', in R. Chobanova and A. Dimitrov (eds), *Barriers to Innovation*, Sofia, CIELA (Member of the Wolters Kluwer Group and Association for Economy).

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RECENT EMIGRATION FROM BULGARIA: A PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE*

Bonka S. Boneva

For the last decade, with the political and socio-economic changes in Central and Eastern Europe, a wave of emigration to the West has been observed. The estimated size of population flow runs in the millions (Ardittis, 1994; Chesnais, 1991). According to Fassman and Munz (1994), the five main countries of origin of emigrants are Poland, former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Romania (p. 24). Bulgaria ranks fourth in emigration rates among Central and East-European countries—after a “traditional emigration” country as Poland, and the two dismantling federations, and before Romania.

One should be careful, of course, when discussing the size of the recent population flow from Bulgaria. A major reason for that is that there is a high incidence of emigrants who leave on tourist or other non-immigrant visas, whose status is further unaccounted for (cf. van de Kaa, 1993). Thus, researchers often have to rely on estimates, which can overestimate emigration rates, or, on census data, which can underestimate the size of emigration from a country. According to the December 1992 Census, between 1988-1992 the total emigration from Bulgaria was about 600,000 people (cited in Bobeva, 1994). This has been considered a period of highest emigration rates – during and immediately after the major political changes in the country (cf. Bobeva, 1994). 92 percent of those who emigrated were of working age, and more than 75 percent were men. The highest rates of emigration were of those in the 30-39 age group –32.5 percent of all emigrants in 1990 and 26.8 percent in 1991. This means that emigrants from Bulgaria are not mostly “young people” (18-29 years old), as some authors argue (e.g., Bobeva, 1994). 23.9 percent of the 1990 sample and 39.8 percent of the 1991 sample had eight years of schooling [progimnazia], 23.8 percent in 1990 and 17.7 percent in 1991 had twelve years of schooling [gimnazia],

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and 11.4 percent and 12.4 percent, respectively, were university graduates, which roughly reflects the educational distribution among the general population.

Many of those who emigrate appear to choose the United States as their destination. It seems that the United States attract at least a quarter of those who emigrate. According to a study of the recent "brain drain", for example, 24.5 percent of "the determined Bulgarian migrants" (those who were already completing the departure documents) had chosen the United States as their main destination, followed by Germany (14.3 percent) and England (13.6 percent) (see Bobeva et al., 1997).

Why do these people emigrate is a major question for both researchers and policy makers. And also, what are the most probable consequences of the high emigration rates for Bulgaria? This paper will propose some answers to these two questions.

The "push-pull" theory has been widely accepted in literature as the major explanatory framework in migration studies (cf. Castes & Miller, 1993; Chesnais, 1991). According to this theory, undesirable social and political conditions in the country of origin "push" people to leave the country and resettle in other countries – which represent the "pull" factors with the better economic and political opportunities they give. Emigration from Bulgaria has been largely explained using the "push-pull" theory. Bobeva (1994), for example, writes: "The emigration wave of 1990 has been caused by two major factors: first, by the disappointment of a great part of the population, especially young people, with the results of the 1990 elections when the ex-Communist Party won a solid majority of seats in Parliament; and, second, by the fact that people begin to fear the lack of fuel, cold winters, and possible starvation" (p. 229). Similarly, Zlatanova (1991) concludes: "Outmigration has been stimulated mainly by the bad economic situation in the country where many people see no future for themselves and their children. The shortage of most of the necessities of life, high prices and low incomes have created a situation where an increasing number of people are living below subsistence level" (p. 137). Then, Zlatanova goes on to point to high inflation rates and unemployment, especially among those with higher education among the "push" factors.

There is no doubt that unfavorable economic conditions in Bulgaria, coupled with "opening the doors" (the end of the restrictions to emigration during socialism) since the beginning of the transition period, have "pushed" more people to leave the country. However, there are some problems with using this as the major (and often the only) explanatory framework for the decision to emigrate. First, available statistical data points that the majority of emigrants from Bulgaria are not the poorest among the population. Similarly, it is not the unemployed who usually choose to emigrate. Research findings, although scant, have shown that those who leave Bulgaria are, as a rule, not unemployed (cf. Bobeva, 1994). Data on the recent "brain drain" from Bulgaria show that most of those who emigrate have jobs in their country of origin, have their own apartment and a car, and are also some of the best in their field (cf. Bobeva et al., 1997). Nor are they necessarily the youngest of the population. For 1990-1991, almost half of the emigrants were in the 30-44 age group (Bobeva, 1994). And apparently most Bulgarians feared the coming cold winters in 1990, but only some considered leaving the country. A study of the potential emigration among "scientific workers" at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the University of Sofia and the Higher Technical Institute of Sofia found "no clear difference in the economic status and prospects between migrants and non-migrants" (Domozetov & Yosifov,

1991, p.140). Also, the same study found no difference in the level of satisfaction with life between potential migrants and non-migrants—as one could expect, both groups were highly dissatisfied with their lives in Bulgaria. In other words, although “the door is open” for everyone, only some choose to emigrate, while others do not.

Of course, nobody doubts that low standard of life, and high unemployment rates “push” people to leave their country of origin and seek better opportunities for themselves and their children abroad. Suffice it to say that highly industrialized countries, as the United States and Germany, for example, have very low rates of emigration (cf. Castes & Miller, 1993). These countries mostly attract immigrants. However, the so-called “push-pull” factors do not explain why *only some* individuals emigrate—even among those who encounter some favorable opportunities to leave the country. For countries of serious economic problems, as Bulgaria, it is logical to expect much higher emigration rates. However, only few people choose to leave the country, while others choose to stay.

If environmental factors do not “explain it all”, then, it is logical to assume that personality factors play an important role in the choice to emigrate. Ultimately, the decision to emigrate is taken by the individual. The person should be *motivated* to leave her or his country of origin, and move to another country. A number of researchers have tried to answer the question “What motivates the individual to choose to emigrate?”. These are usually studies of the *declared motives* for emigration—asking the respondents directly why they want to emigrate (or, why they emigrated). Self-report motives-to-migrate surveys are still the most widely used instrument when psychologists want to understand why certain people emigrate (see e.g., Lin-Yuan, 1994; Pencak, 1993). In fact, when asked about their motives to move, individuals usually give a set of reasons, which are either “push” factors in the country of origin (e.g., “bad economic condition”, “fear of unemployment”, “unfavorable climate”, etc.), or “pull” factors in the country of resettlement (e.g., “better education for my children”, “better conditions of life”, “joining relatives”, etc.), or both (cf. Haberkorn, 1981). However, migrants’ self reports on the reasons for their own behavior may not be a very reliable explanatory tool. First, research in the area has shown that decision to emigrate may not be primarily rational, and often does not follow carefully considered means-ends calculations, but, rather, is quite frequently heavily influenced by emotion, and only later rationalized (Taylor, 1969; cf. Wegner & Wheatley, 1999). Second, these self-reported reasons to emigrate list basically the major “pull-push” factors, mentioned earlier, which do not explain why others, sharing the same unfavorable circumstances in the country of origin, and having the knowledge of better economic and political conditions in the “pull” countries, do not choose to move.

It could be that certain dispositional motives, rather than situational factors “push” only some individuals to leave their country and search for better opportunities in other countries, while another set of motives ‘predispose’ others to choose to stay—all economic and political conditions being equal. Long-term behavioral tendencies (like trying to do better for yourself and your family in another country) are determined to a great extent by dispositional motives. So, studying the *underlying motives* of the choice to emigrate is one reasonable way to try to answer the first question above: “Why do only some people emigrate?”

Within the frame of a motivational theory, originally developed and greatly stimulated by the works of McClelland (see e.g., 1961; 1975; 1987), Frieze and Boneva

(see Boneva et al., 1997) developed a model of the motivational structure of potential migrants. It has been argued that potential migrants have higher Achievement and Power motivation, and lower Affiliation motivation as compared to non-migrants. This has been termed "the immigrant motivational syndrome".

This model was first tested with college students in Albania, the Czech Republic and Slovenia (see Boneva et al., 1997; 1998). In all three countries, those individuals who declared that they would like to leave the country after graduation and settle for the most of their lives in another country had higher Achievement and the Power motivation than those who wanted to stay in their countries of origin. For Albania, where a measure of the Affiliation motivation was included in the questionnaire, the male students who wanted to leave the country had significantly lower Affiliation motivation than the male students who wanted to stay.

In a second study with samples from Bulgaria, Russia and again, from the Czech Republic, the "immigrant motivational syndrome" has been confirmed again (see Boneva et al., submitted). For all groups, those who wanted to leave the country scored higher on the Achievement and the Power motivation. The Bulgarian sample was drawn from the University of Sofia and the South-Western University in Blagoevgrad. 19.4 percent of all college students expressed a desire to live in another country after graduation, while 55.2 percent had definitely decided to stay in Bulgaria. For a comparison—for the Czech Republic, 9.9 percent of the sample and for Russia, 15.9 percent expressed a desire to resettle in another country (Boneva et al., submitted). By and large, this confirms previously published data for the general population on the desire to emigrate from Bulgaria. In 1990-1992 data of the Center for the Study of Democracy (cited in Boneva, 1994) 55 percent of those with higher education said they will not emigrate under any circumstances, while 26-28 percent of the working-age population wants to emigrate, two-thirds of them being in the 18-29 age group.

Two basic points have been emphasized that far. First, a considerable proportion of the Bulgarian population seem to desire to leave the country in search of better opportunities for themselves and their children in other countries. Second, these individuals tend to have higher Achievement motivation than those who do not consider emigrating. It is very important, then, to analyze the possible consequences of these findings. First, do migrants really find better opportunities in the country of choice?

Unfortunately, it appears that immigrants from Bulgaria, similar to those from other ex-socialist countries, often cannot find jobs that respond to their education and/or skills. They accept positions sometimes well below the social status they held in their country of origin (see e.g., Ardittis, 1994; Bodrova & Regent, 1994; Shevtsova, 1992; van de Kaa, 1993). Yet, these immigrants seem to somehow accept the unfavorable conditions in the chosen land. From a motivational viewpoint, a reasonable explanation for that could be that "high Achievers" are willing to take any available job, or any opportunity to work, and utilize their efficiency and competence in order to constantly do better and better. Thus, East-European immigrants accept positions below their educational credentials and/or professional skills only because they believe that working hard over time will take them to the adequate professional level (cf. Boneva & Frieze, submitted)..

However, for high Power motivated individuals who resettle in another country, finding an adequate expression of their motive, especially immediately after resettlement, may be very problematic. It cannot be expected that soon after arrival

immigrants will take managerial positions, or have any other type of major control or impact—behavioral tendencies associated with high Power motivation. This frustrated Power motive can lead to socially undesirable behavior. People high in Power motivation have been found to have more impulses of being aggressive—if they strive to be assertive, obstacles can make them act aggressively. In particular, studies have associated high Power motivation with aggressive behavior for men with low education (see e.g., Veroff, 1982). Some authors (e.g., Murphey, 1994; Tanton & Lutton, 1993) have assumed that male immigrants and especially those with low education, get involved in criminal behavior more so than other comparable groups in the United States. However, there does not seem to be consistent empirical evidence for that (cf. Boneva & Frieze, submitted).

On the other hand, Boneva and colleagues (1997; 1998) found that potential emigrants who tend to have high Power motivation, are especially “visibility-oriented”—that is, they want to be recognized, to be prominent. Such a disposition is often connected with the desire to buy prestigious possessions and/or gain wealth (cf. McClelland, 1987). So, high Power motivated immigrants may resort to fast ways of acquiring money—whether acting aggressively or not, in order to buy expensive things. However, these are only speculations, and more empirical research is necessary in order to be able to understand the personality of the Bulgarian immigrant.

Second, there is no doubt that by emigration Bulgaria is losing a certain portion of its “achievers”. What are the major consequences of that for the country? Work by McClelland (1961) suggests that countries with a relatively high percentage of high Achievement motivated individuals have higher rates of economic growth, and vice versa. “High achievers” are individuals who strive for constantly doing better and better in whatever they do. They are concerned about efficiency, innovativeness, and entrepreneurship (cf. McClelland, 1987). Thus, emigration of a sizable proportion of “achievers” from a country of economic decline can have an additional negative effect on the economy.

It is also possible that losing some of its highly Power-motivated individuals would be undesirable for a society. It has been shown in the literature (see e.g., McClelland, 1987; Winter, 1996) that successful managers, who run well middle or big-size organizations, tend to have high Power motivation. A desire to be a leader, to have an impact on others is in the core of the Power motivation (cf. Winter, 1973). What are the exact consequences, if any, for Bulgaria losing some of its (present and future) leaders, is yet to be answered in research.

It is, then, important to suggest possible ways of preventing actual emigration for individuals with high Achievement and high Power motivation. Unfortunately, restrictive measures have been most often seen as solutions to an undesirably high emigration flow from Eastern Europe (cf. Greèiæ, 1993). However, restrictions to emigration/immigration have not always proven efficient. Also, a democratic government should not restrict their population from leaving the country of origin. Enhancing the economic development of the sending country has also been considered as a solution to the problem (see e.g., Teitelbaum, 1993). However, this solution is contingent upon strong financial support from the West that Bulgaria can hardly rely on. Also, there seem to be no empirical evidence that an enhanced economy will readily result in less emigration—rather, it may exacerbate emigration, as Teitelbaum (1993) predicts.

Within the motivational theory, it could be expected that creating opportunities for the expression of the Achievement and the Power motives in the country of origin will reduce the desire to emigrate. One possible way to go is to establishing at least some stable democratic organizations in the country (cf. Boneva et al., submitted). One major factor in the decision to emigrate or not is whether opportunities to express one's economic and political discontent, and aspirations for a better life are available or not. These are psychologically oriented measures, which may not be the "ultimate solution" of the emigration problem, but may prove effective against mass emigration. Moreover, such types of psychological measures for discouraging emigration cost less and may have positive results sooner than improving the economic conditions in the country.

Lastly, it is logical to ask the question whether findings concerning potential emigrants among college students are generalizable for the whole population. In addition, the major variable in our studies was the *desire* to emigrate, and not actual migratory behavior. Undoubtedly, a preference or a desire to live in another country is not the same as the process of moving to another country. Yet, studies on the relation between a desire to emigrate and the act of moving show that desires are a fairly good predictor of migration behavior (see e.g., De Jong et al., 1986; De Jong & Fawcett, 1981; Taylor, 1969). Then, it could be expected that a majority of those who want to emigrate will at one point try to emigrate, and eventually will emigrate. From a psychological viewpoint, it is also interesting to know what will be the consequences for the personality if a desire to emigrate is not, in fact, followed by actual emigration. A survey of the Central Statistical Office (1991) shows that as high as 90 percent of the young people (18-29) have been thinking about emigration. If most of Bulgarian youth wants to emigrate but for certain situational constraints cannot, what conclusions can we make from that, and what are the possible consequences for the country?

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MARCH 9, 1943, IN BULGARIAN HISTORY

Frederick B. Chary

On the night of March 9, 1943, a group of parliamentary delegates led by Dimitur Peshev, a vicepresident of the body, confronted Dimitur Gabrovski, the minister of internal affairs, and demanded to know why the Jews of their districts were being gathered up and whether the rumors that they were to be deported out of the country were true. Gabrovski was forced to admit that they were. Peshev demanded that the operation halt, and Gabrovski after conferring with Prime Minister Bogdan Filov agreed. Thus, one of the most dramatic events of the twentieth century was played out. As a result of Peshev's protest the entire community of Bulgarian Jews survived the Holocaust. How this unique set of circumstance came about, who was ultimately responsible, and what did it mean in the context of the destruction of European Jewry has long been an object of debate more often than not serving as a code for other arguments. With the publication of the recent books by Michael Bar-Zohar and Gabrielle Nissim, the arguments have resurfaced. In any case, the importance of the event for both Bulgarian and world history cannot be denied.¹

However, in order to put things into context we must remember that those who made the decision to spare the lives of the Bulgarian Jews (for deportation of Jews in 1943 meant their deaths) went ahead with the plans for abetting in the murder of eleven and half thousand Greek and Yugoslav Jews². This in itself was a crime against humanity. Were the Bulgarian Jews bartered for the lives the others? Was this a case of the Bulgarian government saving its own, but not those of populations they were responsible for in war-time conditions? If so this would put Bulgaria in the same category as France and Romania. These are issues Holocaust scholars have raised in considering the Bulgarian case.³

Let us examine some of the details. The deportation of the Bulgarian Jews was planned in Germany in 1942 as part of the Nazi plan to make Europe *Judenrein*-free of Jews.⁴ Alexander Belev, the Bulgarian Commissar for Jewish Affairs, and Theodor Danneker, an official of RSHA IV.24, the SS office in charge of Jewish execution headed by the infamous Adolf Eichmann, worked out the details of the plans in the

fall and winter of 1942-43.⁵ Under German pressure Bulgaria had prepared the ground by the introduction of anti-Semitic laws beginning 1941 when Sofia moved closer to an alliance with Berlin.⁶

German insistence that Bulgaria aid in the battles against Yugoslavia and Greece and the occupation of territories in those regions further complicated the country's position further.⁷ Indeed the government in Sofia was not unhappy to have control over lands considered Bulgarian *irridenta*, but had hoped it could avoid joining the hot war. In fact Sofia never did declare war on the Soviet Union and only declared "symbolic" war on England and the United States.⁸ Nevertheless, part of Sofia's occupation policy included a 1940's version of ethnic cleansing as she drove Greeks out of Macedonia hoping that a purer South Slavic population would insure retention of those lands after the war.⁹

Under the circumstances the deportation of Jews to Poland supposedly to work did not seem contrary to government policy. Yet, it should be clear that the Bulgarian officials involved knew that the deportation of the Jews would lead to their deaths.

To implement the deportations the parliament adopted a special law in June 1942 charging "the Council of Ministers to take all measures for solving the Jewish question and matters connected with it."¹⁰ This law passed on the heels of the February German Wannsee Conference, which developed the so-called "final solution of the Jewish question", and enabled the cabinet to take measures connected to the deportation of Bulgaria's Jews without parliamentary debate or public knowledge.¹¹ It also removed the king from involvement with these policies. This latter is a significant point to which we shall return. The cabinet did not accept this without protest from both the left and right fearing a precedent of removing them from involvement in the country's policies.¹²

The law allowed the cabinet to issue a decree on August 26, 1942, forming the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs headed by the anti-Semite Aleksandur Belev, referred to above who in fact had been Gabrovski's specialist in drafting the previous anti-Jewish laws.¹³

The Commissariat put new restrictions on Jews, but its main goal was the arranging for their deportation. Article seven ordered the Jewish community "to prepare the deportation of the Jewish population." Article nine of the August 26-decree stated that the government could expel Jews from Sofia into the provinces or outside the kingdom."

In September Berlin offered to help Bulgaria achieve this goal. In November Theodor Dannecker, who had dealt with deportations from France, arrived in Sofia, and from December to February, 1943, Dannecker and Belev worked out a detailed program for deporting the Jews from Bulgaria and the Bulgarian occupied areas of Greece and Yugoslavia to Poland.¹⁴ The plan called for the Jews to be deported in three groups of twenty thousand each. The first group would be those from the occupied territories. Since the Jewish population there was less than eleven and half thousand, about eight thousand more were added from Bulgarian citizens inside the 1940 boundaries of the country. (Greek and Yugoslav Jews did not have Bulgarian citizenship.)

The existing archives do not reveal how Dannecker and Belev arrived at the exact decision to include these Bulgarians in the first deportations. The original agreement stated that:

"After confirmation by the Council of Ministers, in the new Bulgarian lands Thrace and Macedonia will be prepared 20,000 Jews without regard to age and sex—for deportation."¹⁵

The document was altered by crossing out the statement "in the new Bulgarian lands Thrace and Macedonia."¹⁶ This appears to have been done with the same pen which Belev signed the document and presumably, therefore, he was the one who altered the agreement. Furthermore, the archives do not indicate whether he did so on his own accord or in the presence of Dannecker, but presumably the German agencies did not care whether the Jews were only from the new territories since their plans called for the eventual deportation of the entire Jewish population under Bulgarian control.

In consequence, Belev ordered his staff to implement the agreement with an order stating:

"To be deported outside the kingdom all Jews of Thrace and Macedonia and a definite number of Jews from the old boundaries, in all 20,000 people, by the end of the month of May 1943 at the latest, according to the agreement with Germany."¹⁷

This would include all two thousand Jews of southeast Bulgaria, two thousand from Sofia, and four and a half thousand from the other provinces.

On March 2, 1943, the cabinet met in secret to enact a series of warrants which Gabrovski had prepared to implement the deportations.¹⁸ Belev had submitted the bases for the warrants even before he formally completed his agreement with Dannecker. The cabinet declared that these warrants would not appear in the official *Government Gazette*.¹⁹ The chief warrant, № 127, charged the commissariat "to deport up to 20,000 Jews inhabiting the recently liberated territories."²⁰ Although other warrants dealing with technical preparations, such as issues of transportation costs, legal documents, etc. indicated that some Jews from the old boundaries would be included, warrant № 127 contains the words "inhabiting the recently liberated territories" which Dannecker and Belev wrote in the original agreement.²¹ It was not modified to reflect the changes made by striking out reference to the new territories in the agreement until later most likely after the events of March 9, and therefore it proved inadequate for the Commissariat's plans.²²

From March 4 to 11, the commissariat carried out the first part of the deportation operations by gathering Jews into camps near railroad stations.²³ As soon as the actions began, protests rose throughout the country. The most significant, however, occurred in Sofia and Kiustendil and began with the Jews themselves. The Sofia Jews learned of the deportation plans through several sources. Belev's secretary, Lili Panitsa, had friends and acquaintances among the Jewish community²⁴. Haim Behar of Kiustendil, who happened to be in Sofia at that time, bribed Josif Vatev, Gabrovski's brother-in-law and a medical examiner for the Commissariat.²⁵ The governor of Kiustendil, Liuben Mitenov, also told Behar of the plans.²⁶ The Sofia Jews tried to have their Bulgarian friends intervene but ran into stone walls. Nikola Zahariev, the minister of trade told Jako Baruh, an official of the illegal Zionist center in Bulgaria who helped members of the government obtain visas for Palestine for their Jewish friends, that no one dared help the Jews for fear of the Germans and of being accused of taking Jewish bribes. However, he also told him that warrant 127 only applied to non-Bulgarian Jews.²⁷

Using this information on March 7 Baruh went to Dimitur Peshev, his classmate at Sofia University and the parliamentary representative from Kiustendil. Peshev

verified the story from Sofia sources and a group of Bulgarians coming from his district Kiustendil on behalf of the Jews.²⁸ Then on the morning of March 9 he met with some sympathetic deputies, and later that afternoon he invited Gabrovski to meet with them threatening a scandal if the orders were not reversed.²⁹

Gabrovski consulted with Filov and then returned to tell the delegates that the order would be reversed but only for the Jews of the old boundaries of Bulgaria. The Jews, many of whom were already in concentration centers awaiting deportation and many more who would be gathered before the orders for reversal arrived in the provinces, were sent home.³⁰

In the following days the Bulgarian government with minimum German assistance gathered up the Jews of Thrace, Macedonia, and Pirot and completed the operation by sending them to their deaths in Poland.³¹ Peshev expanded his protest getting forty-three delegates, one quarter of the assembly, almost all from the government faction, to sign a letter calling for a change in the government's Jewish policy.³² Filov rallied the majority for support.³³ Many delegates withdrew their names from the letter, and the government majority stripped Peshev of his office of vice-president of the assembly.³⁴

Peshev managed to bring the debate to the floor of the assembly, but his supporters came chiefly from the opposition.³⁵ Nevertheless, it was too late to resume the deportation of the Bulgarian Jews. The changing course of World War II gave all of Hitler's allies second thoughts about cooperation with the "final solution." In effect, the deportation plans were not going to be implemented although threats to do so continued.

Notably absent from the debate over deportation in March 1943 was King Boris III. Although his apologists and supporters have tried to show that he was behind the decision to stop the deportations in March 1943 the evidence does not support this.³⁶ On the contrary, it appears that the king avoided involvement in the Jewish policies although he paid careful attention to the other policies of the government meeting regularly with Filov and other key members of the cabinet. Also we must continue to bear in mind the persons who made the decision of March 9, condemned the eleven and half thousand Greek and Yugoslav Jews to death.

According to an entry in his diary, Filov indicates that the king supported him in his Jewish policy.³⁷ The king appeared to maintain this position as late as April 15 in a meeting with some of Bulgaria's bishops protesting the Jewish policy.³⁸ However, he also appeared to be having second thoughts because two days before he had asked Filov to find some way to answer the German demands for a new effort of deporting the Jews, by claiming that Bulgaria needed them for labor.³⁹ Earlier he had told Ribbentrop that Sofia needed Jews for labor but then he indicated that the country would be willing to deport half of the population;⁴⁰ now he wanted to prevent the whole operation. Nevertheless, because of the timing there can be no doubt that the credit for helping the Jews in March 1943 belongs not to Boris but to Peshev. Although Boris clearly was not an anti-Semite of the Hitler type, indeed probably no more than any average member of the upper European aristocracy of the time, he deserves little credit for saving the Bulgarian Jews and shares the responsibility that his government bears for the deportation of the Greek and Yugoslav Jews. In retrospect it appears that if the Bulgarian government, Gabrovski, Filov, or Boris himself, had ordered all deportations canceled, they could have done it. In many ways Boris's allies Miklos Horthy of Hungary, Ion Antonescu of Romania, and even Benito Mussolini himself

did more for their Jews than Boris did for those in Bulgaria. To credit the king with saving the Bulgarian Jews cheapens one of the most courageous and miraculous events of the twentieth century.

In considering these events, we should also look at two recent publications, namely Michael Bar-Zohar's *Beyond Hitler's Grasp* and Gabrielle Nissim's *The Man Who Stopped Hitler*.⁴¹ Bar-Zohar, a popular Israeli author who was born in Bulgaria, is one of those Jews who survived the war. His work, written mainly in popular style, adds some details to the story. However, I do not believe he proves his major point that King Boris was mainly responsible for saving the Jews. In fact, the evidence he presents for this is based on speculation and violates the dictum of Professor Dana C. Munro that "no statement... be made in historical writing for which a satisfactory reference to a contemporary source cannot be given."⁴² Furthermore, although he acknowledges his debt to my research and cites me numerous times (although he failed to spell my name right), he implies both in his book⁴³ and also in the C-Span lecture he gave this year at the Washington Holocaust Museum, that I credited the victory at Stalingrad in February 1943 for directly preventing the deportation of the Jews. What I wrote actually was that the victory at Stalingrad along with rumors of an invasion by Turkey or the Allies in the spring of 1943 raised tensions in Bulgaria.⁴⁴ I also specifically quoted Adolf-Heinz Beckerle, the German ambassador to Sofia, that the German reversal "would not (emphasis added-FBC) affect 'the still secret design for the radical solution of the Jewish question.'"⁴⁵ It should be clear that by April and May when the German victory was more in doubt, Bulgaria as well as the other countries allied to the Axis began to consider their own fate vis-à-vis the Allies. Norbert Iasharoff, whose father was the attorney the Jewish community hired to defend Peshev at his post-war trial, was in the audience at Bar-Zohar's lecture. Gratefully, he defended my point of view in my absence.

Nissim's book is a biography of Dimitur Peshev centering on his action which led to the survival of the Bulgarian Jewish community. It is much more to the point and honors one of the unsung heroes of the Holocaust.

NOTES

¹ Michael Bar-Zohar, *Beyond Hitler's Grasp: The Heroic Rescue of Bulgaria's Jews*, Holbrook, Mass.: Adams Media Corporation, 1999. Gabrielle Nissim, *L'Uomo che Fermo Hitler*, Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1998. For other works see Frederick B. Chary, *The Bulgarian Jews and the Final Solution: 1940-1944* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh: 1972) and Benjamin Arditi, *Yahude Bulgariyah Hamishpat Hanatsi: 1940-1944* (The Bulgarian Jews during the years of Nazi occupation), Tel Aviv: Israel Press, 1962.

² See Chary, 101-128.

³ For example, the eminent Holocaust scholar Raul Hilberg has expressed these views.

⁴ See Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, rev. and definitive ed., New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985 among others.

⁵ Chary, 76.

⁶ Ibid., 46-49.

⁷ Marshall Lee Miller, *Bulgaria during the Second World War*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975, pp. 45-51.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 67-70.

⁹ Ibid., p. 128; Chary, 99.

¹⁰ Bulgaria, Narodno Subranie (Hereafter BNS), *Dnevniitsi*, 25th ONS, 4th extraordinary sess. (June 22-July 2, 1942), pp.68-96, 220-222.

¹¹ Chary, 53.

¹² BNS, *Dnevniitsi*, 4th extraordinary sess., pp.68-96.

¹³ *Durzhaven Vestnik*, № 192 (August 29, 1942), pp. 1-6.

¹⁴ Chary, 69-84.

¹⁵ Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Balkan Studies, Section for Hebrew Studies, doc. No. 38. A copy has been published in Natan Grinberg, *Dokumenti*, Sofia: Central Consistory of Jews in Bulgaria, 1945, pp. 14-16.

¹⁶ Ibid. See also Chary, 208.

¹⁷ Grinberg, 33.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 23-43. These pages contain reprints of the warrants.

²⁰ Gabrovski to Filov (no date); Bulgaria, Council of Ministers, 127th warrant (*postanovlenie*), 32nd protocol, March 2, 1943; Grinberg, pp. 41-43; English translation in Chary 41-43.

²¹ Chary, 82-84.

²² Ibid., p. 84.

²³ Ibid., 84-90.

²⁴ Sofia, Protocol of People's Court No.7, V 1498 (testimony of Buko Levi); Chary 90-91.

²⁵ Deposition of Haim Rahamin Behar, Archives of the Union of Bulgarian Immigrants, Tel Aviv, Israel.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Chary, p. 93, recounts the events and cites depositions of various persons involved located both in Israel and Bulgaria.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 93-94.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 94-95; Arditi, 287. Arditi was part of the Jewish group that met with Peshev.

³⁰ Chary, 95.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 101-128.

³² Ibid., pp. 96-100.

³³ Bogdan Filov, *Dnevnik*, 2nd ed., Sofia: Otechestveniiia front, 1990, Entries for 19-26 March 1943.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ BNS, *Dnevniitsi*, 25th ONS, 4th reg. sess. (October 28, 1942, to March 28, 1943), II, 1163-71.

³⁶ This is the view of Bar-Zohar (pp. 128-130). See also Benjamin Arditi, *Roliata na tsar Boris III pri izselvaneto na evreite ot Bulgariia*, Tel Aviv: n.p., 1952 and Stephane Groueff, *Crown of Thorns*, Lanham. Madison Books, 1987. There is also a website on the internet "Salvation of Bulgarian Jews during WWII" (www.b-info.com/places/Bulgaria/Jewish/) which while listing sources of opposing views, generally favors those that support the king.

³⁷ Filov, entry for 15 March 1943.

³⁸ Ibid., entry for 15 April 1943.

³⁹ Ibid, entry for 13 April 1943.

⁴⁰ Report of Joachim von Ribbentrop, German foreign minister, to Adolf-Heinz Beckerle, German ambassador to Sofia, April 4, 1943. (A copy of this is located in Washington, D. C., The National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, Va., Microcopy № T120, serial 267 (Office of Staatssekretar, Bulgaria, vol. 5, February 1, 1943, to September 10, 1943), roll 225, frames 486341-343.

⁴¹ See footnote 1.

⁴² Recalled in the preface of Kenneth M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 2nd ed, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

⁴³ Bar-Zohar, 267-268.

⁴⁴ Chary, 139.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 140.

THE ROLE OF NATIONALISM IN BULGARIAN POLICY TOWARDS THE EUROPEAN UNION: RECONCILING THE PARADOX OF BULGARIAN NATIONALISM WITH LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Benedict DeDominicis and Maria Ilcheva

Introduction

The achievement of the European Union's Economic and Monetary Union arguably illustrates that circumvention of the sovereign authority of the nation-state is an essential feature of European integration. The defenders of "sovereignty," which is the inherent, exclusive authority of a state over its territory and population, are themselves on the defensive today in the European Union.¹

Consequently, the claim that Bulgarian nationalism is an important motivation for the current Bulgarian foreign policy thrust pursuing European integration and European Union membership appears paradoxical. The resolution of the paradox requires a conceptualization of nationalism which differentiates "nation" from "state." State sovereignty is a means to an end: national influence through achieving self-determination for the nation. Nationalistic foreign policies may interact with European political integration as a means to assert the influence of the nation. If formal-legal sovereignty becomes an apparent obstacle to greater influence and prestige for the nation, then the intensity of concern with the issue of state sovereignty will decline among influential constituencies within the national polity, even while these constituencies remain nationalistic.

Bulgarian Nationalism and the EU

Since coming to power in spring 1997, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) government in Bulgaria continues to be a strong advocate for European "integration" of Bulgaria by joining Euro-Atlantic institutional structures.² Yet, a theme of the European integration literature is that European integration implies the loss of nation-state sovereignty. Its concomitant, the principle of "subsidiarity," quietly leads a simultaneous assault on the national state through encouraging citizen participation and policy implementation at all levels of government at the expense of the nation-state.³ This EU emphasis on regionalism brings with it a growing focus on trans-European institutional frameworks of collaboration and cooperation for European regional oversight and coordination of this growing multitude of initiatives with a regional focus.⁴

Consequently, given the intensity of concern with state security in Southeastern Europe, the Bulgarian government's strong policy thrust in favor of European "integration" may appear somewhat perplexing. This perplexity, however, stems largely from the lack of conceptual development in international relations theory of a vital force in politics: nationalism.⁵

To comprehend adequately Bulgarian foreign policy motivation towards the European Union, a differentiation must be made between the motivation for nationalism and nationalism itself. Nationalism is a value manifestation demonstrating concern for the prestige and grandeur of a nation through affirmation of its influence in international relations. More generally, nationalism is a label which the analyst places on a pattern of political choice which derives from an intense concern for the well-being of a large group of people.

This differentiation assists clarification of the apparent paradox of Bulgarian "nationalism" promoting Bulgarian integration into pan-European political authority structures. It is comprehensible through defining nationalism more broadly as a policy choice pattern for pursuing national prestige or avoiding national humiliation through a focus on desirable generation of influence on behalf of the community. If so, then an inherent contradiction between Bulgarian nationalism and European integration need not exist. Removing this conceptual obstacle is a prerequisite for the formulation of more effective peace strategy in Europe.

The conceptualization of nationalism as an intense concern for the influence of a nation needs further elaboration to describe different subtypes of this motivation. As Richard W. Cottam describes, "nationalist" motivations for foreign policy include national independence, unity, dignity and grandeur.⁶ This elaboration is essential because a polity having an intense, primary foreign policy motivation in the form of national grandeur (for example, 1940 Nazi Germany) will behave very differently from a polity with national unification as a primary, intense foreign policy motivation (mid-nineteenth century Prussia).

The importance of this conceptualization of nationalism for Bulgarian foreign policy towards Western Europe is evident in that the modal pro-UDF Bulgarian nationalist now in effect tends to equate Bulgarian membership in "Euro-Atlantic" structures with achievement of national dignity.⁷ National independence is also an important motivation insofar as this pro-Western, modal Bulgarian nationalist sees a threat to Bulgarian independence from the former regional imperial power, Russia.

Other Bulgarian constituencies may have other motivations, including enjoyment of the economic benefits of European integration and defense from external irredentism and non-instrumental concern for the promotion of human rights. All of these constituencies contribute to the current thrust of Bulgarian policy in favor of European integration. Bulgarian nationalism is likely to be one among several motivations, but the public appeal of Bulgaria "joining Europe" is a vital source of domestic public support for the UDF authorities at a time of great societal upheaval.⁸

Concern with the influence of the nation does not necessarily equate with preservation of the existing set of authority norms which constitute the political institutions of the state. Nationalism of course may have an intense concern with the state insofar as nationalists see achievement of sovereign influence as essential for the integrity of the nation. The doctrine of sovereignty is both an ideological principle and a tactical policy aim for satisfaction of a motive concern for national independence and self-determination. The doctrine of sovereignty is not a nationalist motivation, according to this framework, but it is rather a policy aim for satisfying a motivation.

The National Evolution of the Bulgarian Community: A Hypothesis

Richard W. Cottam highlights the importance of perceived cultural "distance" in shaping the stereotype patterns of perception which emerge in a polity towards a target of its foreign policy.⁹ If not preoccupied with other, more pressing perceived threats, such as threats to domestic control or threat of external attack, then a national polity which collectively perceives itself as "developing" or "backward" will likely display national dignity as an important foreign policy motivation. In the current international political system, displaying a lack of intense Great Power conflict, the consequent high level tactical aims of the resultant policy will include 1) universal affirmation of the national community's technological capacities and 2) universal affirmation of the political regime's adherence to "human rights" obligations according to international treaties.¹⁰

These two perceptual indicators constitute the perceived cultural level of development of a community according to prevailing world views at the end of the Twentieth century. To rephrase, the cultural level of a community today consists of two essential variables in today's prevailing world views: the perceived relative level of technological capacity of the society and the perceived extent of democratic legitimacy of the state authorities.

A foreign policy thrust having national dignity as a primary motivation will therefore likely contain component aims including worldwide demonstration of technological prowess and acknowledgement of national political enlightenment. The 1998 nuclear tests by India and the subsequent declaration of their anniversary as national "technology day" constitute an obvious example of the former.¹¹ China's regular and intense efforts to prevent condemnation by the UN Human Rights Commission regarding its domestic human rights environment constitute an example of the latter.¹²

For the modal Bulgarian nationalist, the achievement of national dignity has recognition of being "European" as a high level policy aim. To the extent that the European Union signifies "Western" and a purging of the "oriental" legacy of 500 years of Ottoman domination, the route to the achievement of the technological and civilizational progress goes through Europe. The modal Bulgarian nationalist who associates with the UDF is likely to perceive the European Union as a source of national dignity affirmation.

In this vein the EU, as a European "peace strategy," has protection of human rights as part of the set of high level tactical aims for achieving its objectives. A prominent theme in contemporary political science literature is that a direct relationship exists between the nature of a domestic political regime and its foreign policy behavior: the so-called "democratic peace" hypothesis.¹³ The policy thrust behind European integration appears to follow this assumption: a causal linkage exists between European regional pacific relations and intrastate European liberal democracy.¹⁴ The European Union authorities aim to harness national dignity as a foreign policy motivation of Bulgaria and the other EU-Associated states of Central and Eastern Europe to generate a political commitment to human rights protection and promotion within these countries. For example, much 1998 and 1999 Bulgarian media coverage surrounded the Bulgarian parliament's debate over whether or not to ratify the European Convention for the Protection of the Rights of Minorities.¹⁵ The reports of representatives of European multilateral institutions played an important role in this debate.¹⁶ Bulgarian nationalism exploits these transnational

human rights EU criteria to achieve recognition and obtain certification of being "European." For the modal UDF supporter, Bulgaria's policy towards "Europe" is a set of high level tactical aims which in effect satisfy the need for national independence, dignity, grandeur and even unity. Paradoxically, the pro-UDF attentive public tends to acquiesce to surrender Bulgarian formal-legal sovereignty in order to achieve these aims.

Conclusion: The European Union as a Regional Peace Strategy

A study of the Bulgarian case points towards a conceptual resolution of the seeming paradox of nationalism being a driving force behind regional European political integration. Again, this conceptual key requires differentiation of "state" and "nation" when analyzing nationalism as a policy motivation. Nationalism is a political choice pattern illustrating an intense concern for the influence of a nation, and it is an essential motivation for European integration.

"State," according to a broad definition, is the system of authority norms within a community. National self-determination and reform of these national authority institutions may indeed be a focus of behavioral attention by someone who intensely self-identifies with this nation. This person would be a nationalist according to the conceptualization of nationalism which this study uses. However, other forms of concern with the influence of the nation may be present which do not focus as directly on achieving an independent state for the national community. Other communally-related concerns which are obviously relevant for international relations and foreign policy include national prestige. The modal pro-EU European citizen may support European political integration in response to this motive of national dignity and prestige. It also permits a recognition that nationalism may remain an important motivation for an actor even while national self-determination is not at issue.

In this regard, individual European nation states are not likely to maintain or increase their influence in the face of US dominance and an emerging East and South Asia. The end of the Cold War threat from the USSR, to the extent that the Europeans perceived one, has also resulted in more questioning of European acquiescence towards US influence over European policy. The debate over the creation of a Common Foreign and Security Policy and a European Security and Defense Identity are the manifestations of an emerging European trend of skepticism regarding US motivations.¹⁷ One likely function of European integration is for it to become a route by which to assert the autonomy of European nations through supplanting US influence through European policy coordination. One may expect that this development will intensify as a result of the international political consequences of the Kosovo crisis.

The general salience of the issue of Bulgarian national security in the turbulent contemporary context of Southeastern Europe remains high. The opposition Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) is publicly against Bulgarian cooperation with NATO and opposes NATO actions in Kosovo, reflecting the negative view of NATO's policy among the Bulgarian public.¹⁸ Much of the force behind the BSP opposition is also a consequence of Bulgarian nationalism, but with a stronger behavioral identity component of pan-Slavism. Meanwhile, the policies of the UDF authorities (until May 1999) assume that accession to NATO and the European Union are inseparable. The Bulgarian foreign policy process reconciles these conflicting political pressures by providing the minimum necessary support for NATO to remain a member-in-

good-standing of the 11 states having Association Agreements with the European Union.

The most immediate tactical aim of the European Union as a peace strategy is to alleviate or prevent perceptions of threat within the prevailing views of the respective polities of the EU Member States, and within Europe more broadly. Policy coordination through the EU institutions provides political transparency for the European political elite in the European policy process, if not so as yet for the mass public.¹⁹ This transparency in the formulation and coordination of the policies of the Member States reduces suspicion regarding the intentions of European actors within the national polities of Europe. Nationalistic communities are more prone to perceive intense challenges and to stereotype the motivations of other actors.²⁰ This function, then, is an important one for the EU as a peace strategy within the regional nation-state system of Europe. It is also a prerequisite for long-term European attitudinal and value change in a direction supportive of European regional and world wide peaceful conflict management.

NOTES

¹ For an example of a standard political science textbook reference to the increasing transfer of "national" decision making authority to supranational European institutions, as well as to the likelihood that it will continue, see M. Donald Hancock, David P. Contradt, B. Guy Peters, William Safran, and Raphael Zariski, *Politics in Western Europe*. Second Edition (Chatham House Publishers, Inc., 1998), p. 507.

² Bulgarian President Peter Stoyanov reiterates Bulgaria's commitment to joining NATO, not as an instrumental means to join the EU, but as a means to satisfy the national security needs of Bulgaria, especially in light of the war in Kosovo. See, for example, the account of Peter Stoyanov's interview with a West Berlin newspaper in "Stoyanov: The Kosovo crisis hinders the development of the whole region." *Democratsia*. 2 February 1999, p. 12, which focuses exclusively on Bulgaria's accession to NATO and the EU.

³ See, for example, Nanette A. Neuwahl, "A Europe Close to the Citizen? The 'Trinity Concepts' of Subsidiarity, Transparency and Democracy" in *A Citizens' Europe: In Search of a New Order*. Allan Rosas and Esko Antola, eds. (Sage Publications, 1995), which focuses on increasing European Union citizen participation in EU structures at the local level of government in order to encourage public self-identification with the European Union.

⁴ Bulgarian public political discourse in the media frequently equates reforms in Bulgaria with meeting European "standards," including in local government reform. See, for example, "The district governor of Kurdjali will appoint Turks for his deputies," *Trud*, 18 January 1999, p.2.

⁵ Nationalism is a ubiquitous motivation in foreign policy, but conceptualizing its role in the foreign policy process is a rigorous task. See Richard W. Cottam, "Nationalism in the Middle East: A Behavioral Approach," in *From Nationalism to Revolutionary Islam*, Said A. Arjamond, ed., (1984: book out of print, but copies available from B. DeDominicis), pp. 28-30.

⁶ Richard W. Cottam, *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and a Case Study* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), pp. 36-37, and Richard W. Cottam, *The Return of Politics to International Strategy* (unpublished manuscript).

⁷ The UDF government since May 1997 claims that success in gaining admission into Euro-Atlantic structures is the means by which to inculcate European civilization values in Bulgaria (See the policy paper presented by prime minister-designate Ivan Kostov to the Bulgarian Parliament on 21 May 1997, available at <http://www.aubg.bg/nws/ben/> and "Pro-Westerner chosen as Bulgaria's Leader," *International Herald Tribune*. 22 May 1997, p. 5.).

⁸ The UDF figure, President Peter Stoyanov, has been a charismatic political leader in Bulgaria, with public opinion surveys consistently generating high evaluations of him from the respondents, and at a much higher level than for the ministers in the UDF government under Ivan Kostov. See, for example, "The ratings of the politicians," *Sega*, 31 August 1998, p. 7, for the results of one such survey, in which Stoyanov is at least 20% ahead of anyone in the Kostov government.

⁹ Richard W. Cottam, *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and a Case Study*, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), pp. 315-17.

¹⁰ This statement is a research hypothesis, but evidence supporting the inference of the importance today of the second aim for achieving national dignity includes United Nations publications such as *Human Rights: The New Consensus*, (Regency Press in association with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1994), which contains within it, not only the statements of senior-level UN secretariat personnel, but also extensive commercial advertisements by private and public business actors from many countries. Arguably it reflects the importance of the appearance of support for transnational human rights policies as a positive public relations vehicle for profit-oriented actors, and these actors are important constituencies in the state's policy process.

¹¹ Pamela Constable, "Nuclear India Marks One Year: Vajpayee Turns Anniversary Into Campaign Opening," *International Herald Tribune*, 12 May 1999, p. 3.

¹² "On Eve of Geneva Rights Talks, China Agrees to Sign U.N. Pact," *The New York Times*, 13 March 1998, sec. A, p. 8, (99044219980313 Pro Quest - The New York Times @ Ondisc); Philip Shenon, "Annual U.N. Ritual Condemning China Loses U.S. Support," *The New York Times*, 14 March 1998, sec. A, p. 1, (01011119980314 ProQuest-The New York Times @ Ondisc); "Beijing Urges EU to Avoid New Disputes Over Rights," *International Herald Tribune*, 17 March 1999, p. 4; Elizabeth Olson, "China Moves to Head Off Censure on Human Rights Violations," *International Herald Tribune*, 22 March 1999, p. 4.

¹³ For a very brief description of this argument in the context of an introductory survey of the causes of violent conflict, see Jack S. Levy, "Contending Theories of International Conflict: A Levels-of-Analysis Approach," in *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict*. Chester A. Crocker and Fen Osier Hampson, with Pamela Aall, eds (Unites States Institute of Peace Press, 1996).

¹⁴ An extended application of this argument in a post-Maastricht retrospective on the Twentieth century European context is the main theme in *Cosmopolitan Democracy: An Agenda for a New World Order*, Daniele Archibugi and David Held, eds. (Polity Press, 1995).

¹⁵ For example, see "Dogan predicts dangerous and spirited elections," *Sega*, October 21, 1998, p. 3, in which Ahmed Dogan, the leader of the ethnic Muslim and Turkish party, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, comments on questions regarding Bulgarian Muslim and Turkish community intentions in the light of the upcoming 1999 elections, noting that the Convention for the Protection of Minorities does require that regional autonomy does not justify separatism. See also "Stoyanov Demands Consensus on the Minorities Issue" by Joanna Gandovska, *Sega*, 09/19/98, p. 2, for a report on President Stoyanov's insistence on parliamentary unity on this issue in order to satisfy European Union expectations, and see as well the explanatory detail on the issues under debate in the media, which was notable, for example by Petio Zekov, *Sega*, 10 February 1999, p. 10.

¹⁶ The Council of Europe's 1998 report on the status of minorities and progress in administrative, media and political reforms generated much public controversy (see, for example, Eliza Giltiai, "The Official Report on Bulgaria of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council has been tabled again," *24 Hours*, 11 September 1998, p. 5). Particularly controversial was the Kostov government's reaction to the report's reference to the existence of a Macedonian minority in Bulgaria (see Mira Badjeva, "The Cabinet Secretly Recognized the Macedonian Nation," *Sega*, 20 October 1998, p. 12.)

¹⁷ For a journalistic report on a growing perceptual and attitudinal trend within the European component of NATO to question the assumption of continuing convergence of European and US aims for the organization, and to consider developing an autonomous European military capability, see Roger Cohen, "A Policy Struggle Stirs within NATO," *New York Times*, 28 November 1998, p. 1. (63 057 819 981 229 ProQuest - The New York Times @ Ondisc).

¹⁸ The Bulgarian Socialist Party publicly opposes the Bulgarian government's continuing support for NATO's attack on the former Yugoslavia, despite the public commitment of the Kostov government to supporting NATO policy. See, for example, "We are with NATO," *24 Hours*, 26 March 1999, p. 1. Also, Prime Minister Kostov of the UDF government has come under criticism in the media for adopting a pro-NATO policy while responses to public opinion surveys are overwhelmingly against NATO air strikes; see Todor Proichev, "I [Kostov (BD)] decided that the Bulgarians are against Milosievic," *Monitor*, 8 April 1999, p. 4. As evidence of his frustration with the political dilemma confronting his government, Kostov lashed out against anti-NATO protests in Bulgaria following the beginning of the NATO air campaign, claiming that the Yugoslav embassy in Sofia orchestrated them; see "Kostov Openly Cursed Yugoslavia," *Monitor*, 1 April 1999, pp. 2-3.

¹⁹ For another reference to creating a European "citizenship" identity through progress in overcoming the perceived "democracy deficit" in European Union institutions, see Antje Wiener, "Assessing the Constructive Potential of Union Citizenship - A Socio-Historical Perspective," in *European*

Integration online Papers (EIOP), vol. 1 (1997), no. 017; <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/1997-017a.htm>; date of publication in the EIOP: 23.9.1997.

²⁰ Cottam, 1984, p. 31.

BULGARIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AFTER 1989 ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF BULGARIA BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

Rumjana Purvanova

The aim of this paper is to survey the scientific publications and other works, brought out during the last decade, which are dedicated to or touch on problems connected with Bulgaria's history between the wars. Before making a review of the historiography, it is necessary to say a few words about the time — subject of the research interests of Bulgarian historians. The two decades between the wars from 1919 to 1939 were a dynamic and dramatic period in the history of Bulgaria. Defeated in the First World War, Bulgaria lost the golden wheat-producing Dobrudža and Western Thrace with its outlet on the Aegean sea, a land where the best Oriental tobacco was grown. The State also lost territories along the western frontier with Serbia (the areas of Strumica, Bosilegrad and Caribrod). Bulgaria was obliged to pay 2,250 million gold francs of reparations and to reduce its army to 30,000 men. In only two decades the country suffered occupation by the troops of the victors from the Entente, invasion by Greek forces into its territory in the late 1925, two military coups and internal clashes. In its foreign policy Bulgaria strove for improving relations with the neighbouring countries and for winning the sympathies of the Great Powers. The time between the wars was a catalyst of extreme moods in society: national nihilism, nationalism and sympathies for the ideas of communism, fascism and national socialism.

A review of the titles of the scholarly publications shows that in Bulgarian historiography after the change in 1989, as prior to it, researches into political history also prevailed. What does characterize these works most generally? Analysis shows that Bulgaria's political development between the wars is interpreted in a new way. It is known that the view that the fascist tendency had prevailed in the political life from 1923 to 1939 was supported in our historiography from the mid-1940s to the early 1980s, and that certain democratic specifics were characteristic only of the independent rule of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union (1920—1923) and of the Popular Bloc (1931—1934). The first attempts for corrections of the thesis of the domination of fascism as a governing factor during the greater part of the period between the wars appeared in the 1980s: more precisely during their second half.¹

An almost opposite tendency of a "democratic inter-war Bulgaria" or of Bulgaria as a "democratic base" gained ground immediately after 1989. Such suggestions are

present in the works of a more general character of B. Boev, G. Markov, of the team of authors including D. Sazdov, M. Lalkov and others. During the past ten years other historians have advanced a new thesis. According to them (Pl. Cvetkov, N. Poppetrov, Vl. Migeu) not fascism but authoritarianism was the basic tendency in Bulgaria's political life between the two world wars. With a view to the perspectives for research during the 21st century it may be pointed out that the well-reasoned Western typologies of the authoritarian and of the totalitarian regimes could also be and are already being successfully applied with respect to Bulgaria's history².

There are also works which take into consideration both the democratic and the anti-democratic manifestations in the political life of Bulgaria. A comprehensive work on Bulgarian history as seen by several prominent Bulgarian historians, I. Božilov, V. Mutačieva, A. Kosev and A. Pantev appeared in 1993. A merit of St. Grânčarov's survey of the inter-war period is the successful attempt to place Bulgaria's development in its European context. The achievements of Western historiography in the periodization of European history are also taken into account³.

New elements have appeared in characterizing the policies of the different governments. The evaluation of the government of the Bulgarian BZNS Agrarian Union gives rise to the greatest controversy. Certain authors adhere to the old evaluation and stress the democratic character of the reforms of the Agrarian Union (St. Trifonov). Others (St. Grânčarov, T. Galunov) are of the opinion that the administration of the agrarians violated the Constitution and was an antipode of democracy and parliamentarism. The view is expressed that from the beginning of 1923 the BZNS Agrarian Union took the road of totalitarian dictatorship⁴. Bulgarian historians, however, unanimously adopt a negative attitude to the two coups — of June 9 and May 19 — as anticonstitutional, coercive acts. Particular emphasis is put on the anti-democratic consequences of the coup carried out on May 19, 1934. The attitude of the historians is also negative towards the home policy of Al. Cankov's government (1923—1925). In new research, however, there is an effort to elucidate which were the social strata that those in power after June 9, 1923 tried to win over⁵.

More moderate and more balanced in comparison with the previous characteristic of "fascist dictatorship with a parliamentary mantle" are also some of the more recent evaluations of the policy of the Second Popular Accord Government (1926—1931). It is accepted that the leading tendency was the liberalization, democratization of political life or the slow and half-way normalization of the conditions for political activity (N. Poppetrov, R. Purvanova). There is also another view that Liapčev's administration was the peak of Bulgarian parliamentarism and the most democratic time in the inter-war history of Bulgaria⁶.

New studies of the policy of the Popular Bloc Government (1931—1934) abandon the thesis of the rule of the Bloc as a "break-through in the fascist dictatorship", influenced by the Comintern assessment of the administration of this coalition. The historians, however, do not shut their eyes before the anti-democratic manifestations in the home policy of the Popular Bloc. As specific for Bulgaria it is pointed out that democratization of the political life began during the European stabilization, continued in the years of the world economic crisis and was interrupted only when Bulgaria emerged from the economic depression⁷.

Bulgarian historians accept that in the period 1934—1939 an authoritarian regime (the old formulation was "monarcho-fascist dictatorship") was established in the country; some call it "royal dictatorship", etc. Factological studies of the authoritarian

time, however, are still insufficient. The transformation of the May 19 people in the sphere of State Government are presented in a more comprehensive manner in comparison with what was done in this respect by G. Kioseivanov's Cabinets⁸. An attempt is made to consider in a new way the placing of the State principle at the centre of all spheres of political, social and cultural life. Some scholars think that the changes, although anti-democratic, contributed to the modernization of the State.

The new elements in the works dedicated to the political organizations also deserve attention. The previous bureaucratic glorification of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union have given room to a critical attitude towards the ideology of the Union. The role of the BCP in the political life of inter-war Bulgaria is also reconsidered most critically. Evaluations of the activity of the Communist Party in the general works are often quite negative. Most indicative in this respect is the evaluation of the role of the military organization of the BCP in carrying out the outrage in the "Sveta Nedelya" Church⁹. In the past ten years there has been a marked interest in the centrist and right-wing political formations. This is more characteristic of the studies of the younger historians. Of the traditional parties, i.e. the parties favouring a constitutional-parliamentarian government, the interest in the Democratic Party is the greatest (R. Stojanova, Pl. Cvetkov). One explanation of this fact may be sought in the specifics of the party itself - this was one of the organizationally most stable, although not with a big membership but with great political and statesman experience parties in Bulgaria. The circumstance that the Democratic Party succeed in restoring its organizational existence both after September 9, 1944, and after November 10, 1989¹⁰ was also of indubitable importance. The history of another interesting and complex party, the Democratic Accord, is also subjected to special research (R. Purvanova). The parties already mentioned - the Agrarian Union, the Democratic Accord Party and the Democratic Party - are studied also as governing ones. Parties that played minor roles in Bulgaria's political development in the 20s and 30s are not overlooked either. For instance, a separate work is dedicated to the People's Union Party (1923—1924). A new phenomenon in the post-war life of Bulgarian political parties - the establishment of youth, women's and professional organizations and groups with them - also finds space in the research of young historians (V. Lecev, R. Stojanova)¹¹.

The more recent publications dealing with different aspects of the activity of political organizations, opponents of parliamentary democracy preferring the ideas of authoritarianism, fascism and national socialism are also of a ground-breaking character. Concrete studies have been published or new judgements have been expressed about such organizations as the Zveno Political Circle, the Kubrat Union, the Union of Bulgarians, the National Association of Fascists and the National Social Movement of Al. Cankov. The attempt of the National Social Movement to set up its own trade union has not escaped the attention of the researchers (V. Vâlkov, N. Poppetrov, D. Petrova, G. Veličkova)¹².

The elaboration of the theme, traditional for Bulgarian historiography, of the foreign policy of the Bulgarian State, its relations with the Great Powers and the neighbouring countries continued during the 1990s. Such are the works on the foreign policy of the cabinets of A. Ljapčev (D. Kosev). Separate problems of Bulgarian foreign policy in the second half of the 1930s, have also been treated, such as the peaceful revision of the military and after the beginning of the Second World War, as well as the territorial clauses of the Peace Treaty of Neuilly (L. Petrov, L. Spasov, A. Kuzmanova)¹³.

The books examining the political outrages and assassinations, the secret organizations of officers - the Military Union and the Clandestine Military Union, and the biggest scandals in the Third Bulgarian State¹⁴ are directed to a broader readership.

The publication of the memoirs of interesting "banned" and forgotten political personalities like N. P. Nikolaev, T. Vasiljov, P. Nejkov, K. Muraviev, G. M. Dimitrov and others stimulated the interest of the public in the role of particular personalities in history - a theme overlooked before. The publication of the diary of the well-known communist functionary G. Dimitrov provided an opportunity to understand both Dimitrov and his time, the people with whom he associated and the environment in which he lived. The materials published on the life and activity of King Boris III, Prime Ministers Al. Stamboljiski, Al. Cankov, A. Ljapčev, Al. Malinov, N. Mušanov, T. Bagrjanov and also of At. Burov and others are an attempt to meet the public curiosity. Personalities with a halo of mystery like L. Lulčev also attract the attention of historians. Notwithstanding what has been achieved, historiography is still far from the serious scholarly biographies of these personalities.¹⁵

Recently, both among established scholars and the youngest researchers, increased interest has been evinced in the history of the economic and financial policy of the Bulgarian state. This is valid for the entire inter-war period. Intensive work is in progress on the problems connected with the state foreign debt, the refugee and stabilization loans. Very keen interest is shown in the relations of the Bulgarian State with international and private financial institutions in the 1920s and 1930s like the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, the London and Paris committees of the bondholders of the Bulgarian State loans and the German bank Diskontogesellschaft. The role of German capital in different branches of the Bulgarian economy is subjected to reassessment in a positive direction.¹⁶

Work continues on a theme that is traditional for all national historiographies: the history of the Bulgarian army in the inter-war period, its modernization, military doctrine and the status of the Bulgarian officers.¹⁷

The history of the Bulgarian national question is another field that is under scrutiny. Bulgarian historians deal both with the fate of the Bulgarian refugees from neighbouring states, who resettled in Bulgaria due to the wars fought in the Balkans from 1912 to 1919, and with the life of the Bulgarians living in the two decades between the wars in Bulgaria's neighbouring states. Works are published on the activity of their organizations in Vardar, Pirin and Aegean Macedonia, in Thrace, Dobrudja and the territories attached to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians after the First World War (K. Palešutski, M. Petrov, G. Daskalov, St. Trifonov, V. Milačkov, St. Ančov and others). The researchers deal not only with the history of the legitimate but also of the underground organizations of some of these Bulgarians, the Macedonians for example. The documentary series enrich the information about the fate of the Bulgarians in Dobrudja and Macedonia. The latest of them throw light on the attitude of the BCP and the Comintern towards the Macedonian Question.¹⁸

Of late, some historians have busied themselves with the history of the Bulgarians who emigrated far from the boundaries of Bulgaria in different periods of its historical development. In several monographs, dedicated to the Bulgarians living in Bessarabia, Banat, the USA and Canada, the reader has a chance to become familiar with their fate during the inter-war period.¹⁹

During the past ten years or so interest has increased in a range of problems insufficiently studied before: the history of the ethnic and religious minorities in Bulgaria. Several publications deal with the life of the Turkish population in Bulgaria in the inter-war period. Attention is paid to the policy of different Bulgarian governments to the Turks, to the tolerant attitude of the Bulgarian state to their religion and schools, to the abundance of periodicals in Turkish in Bulgaria and to the influence of Kemalist Turkey on them.²⁰

The integration in Bulgaria society of the 30,000 Russians who settled in Bulgaria after the Bolshevik Revolution has not been overlooked by historiography. Their contribution to the development of higher education, especially of medicine, the arts and culture is emphasized as important. Recently, there has been interest in the history of other religious and ethnic communities like those of the Gagaouzes and Jews, although the history of the Jews in the period between the wars has been examined in a most fragmentary manner by the Bulgarian historians.²¹ The history of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and of the other Christian denominations (Catholic and Protestant) in Bulgaria in the inter-war period should undergo a serious and comprehensive study.²²

Unlike contemporary Western historiography, the Bulgarian one still deals inadequately with the history of Bulgarian women and their organizations.²³ The changes in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s stimulate some researchers to get down to the examination of such a previously neglected theme as the history of charity in Bulgaria.²⁴

Although at different rates and scales in comparison with the West European states, use is made in Bulgaria also of the modern technical achievements - radio, telephone and various machines. Recently, some authors have turned their attention to the electrification and modernization of communications, including also those in the Bulgarian economy between the wars.²⁵

The survey of the works dedicated to Bulgaria's development during the 1920s and 1930s will not be complete without mentioning a few books devoted to literature, journalism and the arts. The change in the late 1980s stimulated interest in new themes. For instance, the legislative regulation of the freedom of the press in the Third Bulgarian State is presented in a special documentary collection. In the past few years the general public had a chance to become acquainted with the creative work and life of publishers and journalists well known in the past, slightly forgotten or deliberately neglected, like St. Tanev, Gr. Vasilev and D. Krapčev. The search for the specifically Bulgarian in the drawings, caricatures and advertisements in the Bulgarian newspapers of that time is a contribution to the history of the Bulgarian press of the 1920s. The two special books dealing with the history of the Bulgarian literature between the two world wars and with the fine arts in the 1920s and other publications in academic journals in which space is given to the most important events in the activity of the associations of Bulgarian writers, journalists, musicians and actors, give an idea of the development of Bulgarian culture in the period between the two world wars.

NOTES

1. История на България. Т. 1—2, С., 1955—1956; История на България. Т. 3, С., 1964; Кратка история на България., под. Ред. на И. Димитров, С., 1983; *Димитров, М.* Поява, развитие и

CHANGES IN THE IMAGE OF THE "DARK BALKAN PERSON"

(ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY)

Ivet Todorova-Pirgova, Radka Bratanova

1. Introduction.

The problem of identity in all its varieties (social, ethnic, national, political, cultural, etc) has become an almost central topic of Bulgarian folklore studies in the last ten years. A number of interesting observations have been made and conclusions arrived at, all relating to idea of "yourself" and "the other". The findings differ depending on the assumed or desired individual or communal identity that has been the object of research. The factors determining the enhanced interest towards these problems are most likely connected with the notion of "crisis" - a crisis of identity in most of its dimensions. This crisis is not fully comprehended in most cases. Yet it is a natural result of the so called "transition period" and it is at this moment that the issues it raises should be considered, bearing in mind that this would create an awareness of at least part of the problems.

We would like to consider some specific aspects of identity that have seldom been the subject of academic discussion. These aspects, so to say, are still in the periphery of and lie outside the perimeter of folklore analysis. We are referring to certain changes and critical moments in the academic identity, on the one hand, and changes in the accents of the cultural identity reflected in phenomena such as the folklore ensemble and pop-folk, on the other. Both phenomena can be analysed in terms of the "dark Balkan person" image - an image-symbol, an image-myth, an image-fate.

2. The "dark Balkan person" as an image of the contradictory identity of the Bulgarian.

For most of us this image brings back our education at school. We all recall the picture of the colossal figure of Georgi Dimitrov in the background, and Goering's tiny one at the front. Georgi Dimitrov is called the "dark Balkan person". His reply provides the answer to the question where genuine culture and barbarism are to be sought in Europe. We recall Dimitrov's words, familiar to every living Bulgarian nowadays, saying that at the time when Charles V spoke German only to his horses, the first masterpieces of Slavic culture were created in our lands. No contradiction

could yet be detected since, as far as our past is concerned, very few Bulgarians would question the fact that the period of the first Bulgarian state is most celebrated in our national history. It is when the comparison East - West is being made in our contemporary life that the contradiction comes to the fore. Dimitrov's words are not of much use in this respect, because he places the emphasis in the sphere of politics, the least stable and most discredited sphere of social life so far. What remains obscure is the perception and self-perception of the "dark Balkan person" nowadays.

Thus the two main axes along which the image is to be outlined are set. The first is the school image which gives a clear view of barbarism and civilization but not of ancient times. The other is the day-to-day usage of this image which places contemporary civilization in the West, and the lack of culture in our lands. The "dark Balkan person" often assumes a joke-like character with various features. At times he appears to be uncivilized, yet cunning and ingenious and, as a result - more intelligent. In this case he is only seemingly "dark". At times only his negative aspects are revealed, particularly when we employ the phrase "typical Bulgarian work", implying incomplete, futile and poorly finished work.

Until the year 1989 the "dark Balkan person" was above all a Bulgarian, and the Bulgarians were more intimately linked with the Slavic community than the Balkan one. Since 1989 there has been a shift to the Balkan aspect of the image. The disintegration of the notion of the Slavic community together with the re-evaluation of the "Balkan" element as a constructive element of the Bulgarian culture, psychological make-up and national character accompany this shift of accent. The "dark Balkan person" is not as dark as he used to be since the word "Balkan" has more positive connotations and expresses a specific regional identity.

Thus since 1989 the "dark Balkan person" has been placed on the border between East and West. The accent is no longer laid on the contradiction *Slavic civilization / Western European civilization*. It is put on the contradiction *the Balkans / Western Europe*. In a diachronic perspective we have witnessed a shift of meaning: from the dichotomy *ancient Slavic culture / contemporary non-culture* towards the dichotomy *ancient Slavic culture / specific contemporary Balkan culture*. The latter includes both Slavic and Balkan elements as constructive units of its wealth and idiosyncrasy.

One should admit, however, that we are referring to certain general tendencies, not to their real and complete implementation. The actual processes are more complicated and are not readily subject to rigid scientific modelling (shaping). It does not seem easy to live on the Balkans "without necessarily taking pride in or being ashamed of this fact." (M. Todorova).

3. The re-discovery of the Balkan identity (an attempt to make self-reflection)

The complex changes in our identity affect all of us, who regard living on the Balkans a personal fate. It is indeed difficult to live and work in a "transition period" the length of which is obscure and unforeseeable. It therefore seems natural to look into ourselves first. By "ourselves" we have in mind the Bulgarian folklore researchers. In other words the following part of this paper is an attempt to trace certain changes and manifestations of the crisis of identity within the academic community, in particular, our generation of folklore researchers.

Up to 1989 the major orientation of Bulgarian folklore studies was towards *the Bulgarian* and *the past*. Therefore the object of research was the Bulgarian village

and its culture. Research in the sphere of "town" folklore, mainly its music aspects, was rather an exception than the rule. This research practise resulted in a partial distancing from the object of study and a partial awareness of "otherness" (the other culture). The average researcher was most often of "town" origin and was brought up and educated in the town non-folklore culture, of an atheist background. This distancing from the object of research was realised along the following oppositions: village/town, past/present, religious/non-religious, folklore/non-folklore.

After the year 1989 a mass-scale research of the folklore of the ethnic minorities was taken up (Bulgarian Turks, Romany, Wallachians, Gypsies, Jews, etc). It was then that the issues concerning the impact of the researcher's ethnic belonging on his field work were raised. This was particularly true when working with Turks, the most numerous ethnic minority group in Bulgaria, speaking Turkish (mainly the older women) and of the Muslim religion. The differences in ethnic belonging add to those in religion and language and the necessity to identify the researcher's "ego" position stands out clearly. In the same period (late 1980s and early 1990s) yet another re-orientation in research was observed - a re-orientation from village to town, from past to present, from intra-ethnic to inter-ethnic forms of cultural (cross-cultural) communication. We are once again referring to priorities, not to their complete 100% realization.

This is how the concept of one's "own" culture becomes less clear. Research in town indicated markedly that the researcher in folklore studies is also a bearer of folklore and, in terms of ethnic relations, an immediate participant in and bearer of a greater part of the folklore images of one's "own" and "their" strange ethnic community. This presupposes being a potential bearer of the ethnic prejudices shared by the community, which would cast doubt upon certain conclusions concerning the "other" ethnic and religious community, particularly in case the researcher takes no account of his own role in these relations and estimates them from the point of view of "his own" community.

To us personally, as well as to most of our colleagues, the field work with Bulgarian Turks, Romany, Wallachians, Bulgarian Muslims, Gypsies, Jews, and other minority communities was a strong impetus to re-discover our own belonging to the Balkan cultural and historical community. This re-discovery coincided with the death of the idea of the Slavic community.

This re-discovery, however, coincided with some other: *firstly*, that of the dramatic collision between the Eastern and Western academic discourse on the Balkans. It turned out that a large number of our colleagues from the Western countries, who had not come across obstacles of a political nature in their normal work, had not always taken pains to "comprehend" the processes on the Balkans and had quite often dealt with "images", not facts. *Secondly*, the difficulty resulting from the great terminological gap between the Eastern and Western folklore research. The language of folklore studies proved rich in jargons, the study of which normally requires a longer time period. What is one to do in the meantime?

Therefore, *the clash between the Eastern and Western academic discourse on the Balkans*, on the one hand, and *the terminological differences*, on the other, brought about the specific crisis of academic identity among Balkan researchers. This crisis is expressed in different terms. We can illustrate it with the names of professions. This is what a colleague of mine asked me once: "What am I to do since I am at a loss how to present myself to colleagues from the West. If I say that I am a researcher in

the field of folklore studies, they might get me wrong, since in our country the latter has a much broader perimetre and seems to have absorbed ethnography. If I say that I'm an ethnologist, they will get no idea of my specific higher education (as long as folklore studies presupposes a degree in philology, arts, musicology, and in rare cases history, whereas ethnographers from other countries have qualified mainly in history - I.T.); if I tell them I'm an anthropologist, this would mean that Americans will know what I deal with and would be misled as to my higher education. It probably makes no difference how I am referred to, who knows?"

This question is a clear sign of the crisis of academic identity that has not ended so far. Three of the Bulgarian universities have set up their ethnology departments, where lecturers are mainly specialists in folklore and ethnographers, referred to as "ethnologists". Sofia University set up a cultural anthropology department, where lecturers are once again folklorists that identify themselves as both folklorists and anthropologists. The newly established labels are determined by the internal desire for fruitful contact with Western ethnologists and anthropologists as well as a distinction with the Russian model of ethnography and folklore. This desire is of an emotional rather than a rational nature and therefore people are not always aware of its existence. Anyway, the problem of academic identity does exist and its solution is to be sought within our own selves, not in the prompt to be or not to be part of different national schools and academic traditions.

4. The folklore ensembles and pop-folk

Developing the idea of change in terms of cultural facts based on folklore, we will focus on two quite interesting phenomena in this respect: professional folklore ensembles and what in everyday speech we refer to as "chalga" or "pop folk".

Chronologically the appearance of the two phenomena coincide with the conception and development of the "pan-Slavic" and "Balkan" idea respectively.

The professional ensembles were set up in the period of socialism and it is in this period that they enjoyed their expansion and boom. The model to follow was originally designed in the Soviet Union and was multiplied at an accelerated rate in all ex-socialist countries: Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, even China and Mongolia. The professional folklore ensemble was structured and operated thanks to the assistance of the socialist state. This fact is easily noted and is quite evident in the following circumstances:

- at the core of its structure and repertoire policy is collectivism as a key concept of socialist ideology. There is the tendency towards including mass-scale genres and forms in the staged pieces, yet the spiritual life of its members is equally important. The basic and ubiquitous acting agent is the collective which takes over the individual performance;

- the principles along which the ensemble operates and is reproduced are wholly socialist in nature - the state subsidizes the institution and assumes the responsibility for its performance policy. Often the state and party leaders are in charge of providing the audience;

In return for this help, state and party leaders availed themselves of the opportunity to make use of the ensembles to their own benefit, like spreading the idea of "brotherhood among the Slavic peoples". The success of this idea was determined by the fact that all Slavs lived in socialist countries and, in turn, used the same levers and tools to manipulate public opinion.

The ensembles have never been officially declared "preachers" of the "pan-Slavic" idea. Yet it could easily be detected even in seemingly patriotic definitions such as "bolsters of the Bulgarian national spirit", "guards of the Bulgarian national traditions", etc. However, once one carefully analyses the interpretation of such definitions, one would no doubt see that "the Bulgarian" is necessarily opposed to "the Turkish" (with the negative connotation of "the oppressor"), at the same time the "Bulgarian national spirit" was brought to life again due to the effort of the "double liberator - uncle Ivan". A great many pieces in the ensembles' repertoire - ranging from songs to complete musical and dance concerts - provoke a similar interpretation.

The identification of Bulgarian folklore as an integral part of the Balkan one was in many cases embarrassing. A typical example in this respect was presenting the Macedonian songs and dances as Bulgarian, Yugoslav or Greek at folklore festivals. The case with the Wallachian folklore was similar (whether it is Rumanian, Bulgarian, Yugoslav?)

A far more cherished idea was being Slavic - the common origin neutralizes the risk of arguments and claims.

The early 1990s created very unfavourable conditions for the development of the ensembles in Bulgaria. Despite the calls for a free-market orientation, the ensembles remained nearly what they used to be. The market niche was occupied by the so called "pop-folk". This phenomenon is diametrically opposite to the ensemble in several aspects:

- "pop folk", or "chalga", is mainly oriented towards the "Balkan", not the "Slavic". Its bearers completely identify themselves with the bearers of the Balkan musical culture and declare their dignity as "modern";
- "pop folk" has nothing to do with the state subsidies and functions on free-market grounds. Therefore it is free to adopt its own culture policy.

Drawing a parallel between the two phenomena one would discover yet another very significant opposition. A folklore ensemble is normally regarded as egalitarian whereas pop-folk is considered mass culture. A similar interpretation is made not only by the ensembles' representatives, but the performers of "chalga" as well. Since there is a difference in terms of quality level, an ensemble performer would never work for both branches at the same time. Should he decide to devote himself to pop-folk, he will quit the ensemble and vice versa.

The above-mentioned might tempt us to consider the ensemble a negative phenomenon, bearing in mind the political nature of its origin, whereas pop-folk, since it serves no political interests, might be positively assessed. This would be a mistaken interpretation, since things are not "black-and-white". Their model of establishing ensembles is normally attributed to the totalitarian state, yet this does not reject the achievement they have made throughout their development. On the other hand, its free-market mechanism of functioning does not necessarily mean lack of regressive developments. On the contrary, mass culture not only tends to be a sign of bad taste. It can be put to abusive use.

What one must always take into account is the internal contradictory nature of different phenomena. Consequently, if an objective assessment is to be made, artistic merit should be the core of it. In other words, assessment is to be made along the "scale of artistic emotion", not the "scale of non-spiritual interest".

5. Conclusion

All issues raised by us have not yet been solved and call for a detailed study. This is the right time to bring them forth. We are therefore trying to set them as discussion topics, with no view of the likely developments of the analysed processes in the near or distant future.

Anyway, the present paper is an attempt to outline the landmarks that keep up the dialogue in the field of folklore studies: so that folklorists could say useful things - about us, the Bulgarians, the Balkan people, our colleague folklorists no matter where they come from....about the humans in general.

THE SWORD FROM MMA AND THE DISPERSION OF THE GRANULATION STYLE IN THE 6TH–7TH CENTURY*

Oksana Minaeva

The sword from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Ancient Near Eastern Department, Rogers fund 65.28.) is attributed to the Sasanian era in history of Iran. It has a wooden scabbard and a hilt which are covered with gold foil. A delicately worked feather pattern decorates the scabbard, and the surfaces of both hilt and scabbard have been further enriched with designs in granulation and inlays of garnets and glass. The blade is iron and the crossguard, also covered with gold foil, is bronze (Harper, P. 1978: 28).

Sasanian coinage and plates often show the king depicted with a sword which was a symbol of rank and authority, however the usual type of sword was hanged on the belt in quite a different manner. The commonly represented Sasanian sword either hangs from a slide attached to the center of the scabbard (the bridge-like attachment), or is attached to the belt by straps passing through loops on both sides (Nickel, H., 1973, 7: 133).

In the 6th c. there appeared swords with specially-shaped mounts on one side of the scabbard. These attachments are described as P-shaped mounts, designed to keep the weapon, suspended from the belt straps, at an oblique angle to the body.

Short enumeration of the Sasanian swords:

Most Sasanian swords with gold or silver scabbards and P-shaped mounts have been found in the last decade, allegedly in northwestern Iran. (Ghirshman, R. 1963: 293-311; Amiet, P. 17 1967, nos. 4-5, p. 280, fig. 15). Here are some of the parallels of the MMA sword enlisted:

1. Part of a sword and silver covered hilt. Provenance - region of Amlash, Iran (?), 6th-7th c. One piece of the upper part and one P-mount preserved. Length of the

*The study on this question has been made by the author at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York with the support of the Jane and Morgan Whitney fellowship and the kind help of Chief Curator Helen C. Evans from the Medieval Department and Curator in Charge Prudence O. Harper of the Ancient Near Eastern Department. The author is much obliged to them, to the colleagues from the two departments and to many other people for their assistance and contribution.

hilt 23,4cm; length of the iron blade - 66,5 cm. **Roemisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz.** Inv. O. 38822. (Splendeur des Sassanides. 1993:177, No 35; Balint, Cs. 1978, 133).

2. Sword. Silver scabbard and hilt. Provenance - Tcheragh-Ali Tepe (Marlik Tepe) Iran?, end of 6th-7th c. Length 102,5 cm; width 5 cm; P-shaped mounts. Stamped decorative motif of the scabbard and inside palmets or feathers. **Roemisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz.** Inv.No O.37938. (Splendeur des Sassanides, 1993:178, No 37; Balint, 1978).

3. Sword with silver hilt and scabbard. Provenance Iran. 6th-7th c. Stamped decorative motif of the scabbard and inside palmets or feathers. **The British Museum.** Inv. BM. 135739/135747. (Balint, Cs. 1978; Splendeur des Sassanides, 1993:177, No 36).

4. Sword with a gold scabbard. Iran, 6th-7th c. Length 106 cm. The sheath of the scabbard is decorated with feather ornament. **The British Museum.** Inv. No BM.135738; (Balint, 1978; Splendeur des Sassanides, 1993:179, No 40).

5. Sword with silver hilt and scabbard. Dailaman, Iran. End of 6th-7th c. Length 87 cm. P-shaped mounts. Feather like decorative motif of the scabbard. **The Louvre,** Inv. No AO.25534. (Amiet, P. 1974: 195-196; Balint, Cs. 1978; Splendeur 1993:178, No 38).

6. Sword. Bronze, gold. Provenance - Dailaman, Iran, 6th-7th c. **The Louvre,** (Splendeur des Sassanides, 1993:179, No 41).

7. Short sword or knife. Iron, silver. Provenance - north-west of Iran. 6th-7th c. length 29 cm. **MMA,** Inv. No 1988.102.44 (donation of the foundation Ernst Erickson, inc. 1988). (Nickel, H. 1973: 135; Harper, P. 1978, 83-84, fig. 28a).

8. Handle and chapes. 7th c. gold: hammered, chased, granulated. **Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Freer Gallery of Art.** (Ancient Iranian Metalwork 1992:217-218, No 41).

9. Sword with silver scabbard. **Riggisberg, Abegg Foundation, Switzerland,** inv.No 8.2.63 (Overlaet, B. 6, 1998: fig.162).

10. Sword with gold scabbard. **Riggisberg, Abegg Foundation, Switzerland,** inv.No 8.1.63 (Overlaet, B. 6, 1998: fig.163).

This list of Sasanian swords is not full; there are a number of other Sasanian swords in private collections besides these in the museums in Europe and the U.S.A.

Similar swords found in the East European Plains:

1. Sword from Malaja Pereščepina - iron, gold with glass incrustation, remains of bronze and wood, length in the scabbard 92, 4 cm. Inv. No 1930/1, 135, 136; Zalesskaia, V.N. et al. 1997:127; Werner, J. 1984).

2. Pieces of gold sheath from **Vosnesenka**, stamped decorative plant motif. (Kostov, G.1998: fig.32,33, 34; Grichenko, V.A. 1950).

3. P-shaped scabbard mounts from **Glodosy** (Balint, Cs. 1978:183; Smilenko, A.T. 1965).

4. P-shaped mounts from **Artsibashevo** (with granulation belt fittings), (Balint, Cs. 1989:41, Abb. 16).

5. Chape for sword from **Kelegei** (Balint, Cs. 1989:95, Ill.40:8).

6. Fragments of a sword(?) with sheath from **Jasinovo**, second half of the 7th c., (Balint Arch. 1988:101, Ill. 46:5).

Similar swords found in the Caucasus:

1. Sword with P-shaped mounts from Uch Tepe (found together with granulation belt mounts), (Balint, Cs. 1992:371-374, Pl. 15, 20).

Other examples of swords with mounts for scabbards show different styles of decoration: the one from Verhnaia Echera with a P-shaped mount is close to Martynovka style; the decoration of Eshkakon sword with scabbard and mounts is of Saltovo type from the 8th-9th c. (Balint, Cs. 1989: 31, Ill. 11); from Zmeiskaia Stanitsa comes a sword of the Viennese type "Karl der Grosse" (Balint, Cs. 1989:33, Ill.12).

Similar swords found in Central Europe among the Avars:

1. Sword with silver p-shaped mounts. Found at the Danube near Visegrad (Kom. Pest), **National Hungarian Museum**. (L'or des Avars, 1986: 38, fig.19, Cat. No IV.1; Awaren 1985:34, Pl. 19, Cat. No IV.1).

2. Sword from Kecskemet. Length 102 cm. Gold ring pommel, gold sheath cover of the hilt, gold mounts for the scabbard. **Kecskemet Museum**. (L'or des Avars, 1986:38, Fig. 20, Cat. No VIII,6; Awaren, 1985:35, Fig. 20, Cat. No VIII,6).

3. P-shaped mounts from princely grave from **Kunagota**. Greek letters on the bush of the ring pommel National Museum Budapest. Stamped hunting scenes on the gold sheath of the scabbard fittings, (also gold belt fittings found there). (L'or des Avars, 1986:38, Fig. 20, Cat. No IV,3; Awaren, 1985:35, Fig. 20, Cat. No IV,3).

4. Bush for the ring-pommel, sleeve, chape and mounts for a sword. Gold, incrustation. Provenance Nagykoros, **Museum of Nagykoros**, (L'or des Avars, 1986:39, Fig. 21, Cat. No IV,2; Awaren, 1985:35, Fig. 21, Cat. No IV,2).

5. Scabbard mounts from **Kecel**: bush-sheath for the ring-pommel (61937.1a. N 245); gold sheath for the crossguard 2 mounts to sheath for the crossguard (6/1937.1b, N 244, 294, 396); 2 scabbard mounts (6/1937.10 N 244, 368), Hungarian National Museum (Garam, E. 1990:79, Pl. 44: 1-3, 45:1-2).

6. Gold scabbard mounts from **Tiszaalpar** (62.155.106, N 385) Hungarian National Museum (Garam, E. 1990:107, Pl. 98:3).

7. Gold sword fittings from **Bocsa**: bush-sheath for the ring-pommel (7/1935.18. No 293); gold sheath for the crossguard (7/1935/18, N 292a); 2 mounts to sheath for the crossguard (7/1935.18 N 296,299); 2 scabbard mounts (7/1935.18 N 292 b-c), Hungarian National Museum (Garam, E. 1990:56, Cat. No 7, Pl. 10:1-2; 11:1-2; 12:1-2).

8. Scabbard mounts from **Csepel**: gold sheath for the grip (32/1924.b, N 268); gold sheath for the grip or the crossguard (32/1924.c, N 268); 2 P-shaped scabbard mounts (32/1924.d-e, N 268, N 268a), Hungarian National Museum (Garam, E. 1990:59-60; Pl. 25:1-3).

9. P-shaped gold scabbard mounts from a warrior's grave with horse burial at **Kunmadaras**, (kom. Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok) (19/1884.3-6, N 300, 305 four pieces, 2x2) and a gold scabbard (19/1884.2 N 302) Hungarian National Museum (Garam, E. 1990:91-92, Pl. 65:1-3; 66:9).

10. Gold sword fittings from a princely grave from **Zsambok** (Inv. No 48/1924.2-5), gold sheath cover tips for the hilt, gold fittings for the scabbard with pearl border, gold P-shaped mounts for the scabbard (Garam, E. 1990: 228, Pl.150).

Others discovered at Csengele, Deszk (Balint, Cs. 1978:183).

Unfortunately, the enlistment here of the swords with P-shaped scabbard attachments is not full; only a few that show the use of granulation technique or come together with sets of belt or harness fittings are shown while the number of the published material is bigger and can even be further increased.

Discussion of the distribution and ethnical attribution of the P-shaped mountings in the 6th-7th c.

The sword has a long history in Asia. The appearance of the long sword is a late one. It came together with the mounted nomads and the type of bow and belt. There is a certain period marked by the concurrent existence of the two-edged blade sword of the type *spatha*, the one-edged blade swords, some with slightly curved blade, and the appearance of sabres not as early as the 6th c. in Eastern and Central Europe (Merpert, N. 1955:131-168).

The origin of the P-shaped attachments is considered to be in the Scythian *akinaks* and the short sword in Asia. (Nickel, H. 1974). Weapons with P-shaped mounts were probably adopted by Sasanians sometime in the 6th c. However, it is questionable whether in the hunting scene on the side of the large rock-cut ivan of Khusrau II (591-628) at Taq-i-Bostan (S. Fukai and K. Horiuchi, 1969, pl. 81) a presumably royal hunter wears the type of sword with P-shaped mounts. Most representations of swords with P-shaped mounts come from Central Asia. A wall painting of the late 5th or 6th c. from Piandjikent, a site northeast of Iran, in Tadjikistan, shows a figure wearing a sword hanging from two hemispherical mounts arranged along one side of the scabbard. (Belenitskiy, A., B. Marschak, 36, 1973: 61).

There are several opinions on the appearance of the swords with P-shaped scabbard mounts among the Sasanians:

1. William Trousdale believes that the Sasanians may first have become familiar with this form of scabbard suspension from the Hephtalites in the mid-fifth century. The latter would have acquired it from the Turkic peoples of the Steppes. (Trousdale, W. 1975: 94). The large bronze male figure of Parthian date found at Shami in Southern Iran, wears two swords, each suspended from attachments on one side of the scabbard. According to the monuments, however, this form of sword attachment was not adopted by the early Sasanians. A sword suspended from the belt at an angle is particularly convenient for mounted warriors. Thus, the Sasanians must have adopted this sword from peoples east and west of Iran who commonly wore their weapons in this way.

2. Another opinion relates the appearance of the sword with P-shaped mounts among the Sasanians with the Khazars or Savirs in the Caucasus. The 10th c. Muslim historian Tabari records that Khusrau I (531-579), having attacked the Khazars and Alans who invaded Iran and Armenia, captured 10,000 prisoners and transported them to Azerbaijan and neighbouring countries. Almost certainly these defeated warriors carried swords with P-shaped mounts. In accordance with the conservative nature of Sasanian dynastic art, the standard Sasanian sword with scabbard slide probably continued to be depicted long after it disappeared from actual use.

3. The view that the initiation of the sword with P-shaped scabbard mounts to Iran, Byzantium and Central Europe is related with the Avars, who appeared in A.D. 567 in the Carpathian basin, insists on the earlier relations of the Avars with the Eurasian steppes. The find from Borovoe in the South Siberian steppes comes from the first half of the 6th c. and the sword from Taman may show that the Avars were the transmitters (Balint, Cs. 1992:311, Pl. 24).

4. The existence of Greek letters on Malaja Pereščepina and Kunagota may also hint that such swords were produced by Byzantine masters.

There are, however, certain differences in the constructive features of the type of Sasanian sword (also called by H. Nickel "sword of the Huns") and the type occurring among the Avars and in Eastern Europe, which perhaps show different places of origin and inspiration.

The Sasanian sword is characterized by the following peculiarities: 1) the terminal of the hilt, i.e. the pommel is very specific, it is flat or made so as to fit the palm; 2) most often the hilt has place for the thumb and not so accentuated crossguard section 3) existence of P-shaped mounts. The East European Steppe sword and the Avaric sword show differences in these parts: 1) the handle ends with a ring-like pommel which is placed in a trapezoid bush usually made of golden sheath; 2) the grip has a definitely protruded crossguard section; 3) besides mounts which are described as P-shaped there are mounts that consist of 3-connected circular parts, the one in the middle being bigger than the others (especially this latter kind of mounts is represented by the Malaja Pereščepina sword and swords from Avar graves).

Both the similarities and the differences attest that the Malaja Pereščepina sword and the Avaric swords stand closer to the type of such swords that originated in the Eurasian steppes and Central Asia. Perhaps some early examples showing the development of such kind of swords could give finds from Bashkiria from the middle and late Sarmathian times which have similarities with those from Central Asia (Gorbunov, V. S., Ismagilov, R.B. 3, 1976:235). Evidence for the dispersion of the ring-pommel sword in the Altai Mountains and Siberia in later times - i.e. in the 3rd-7th cc. among the Early Turks we find from the excavations of Kudyrge (Gavrilova, A.A., 55, fig. 4, 12) and Tuva (Kyzlasov, L.R. 115, fig. 81,1).

Examples of the ring-pommel handle of swords with P-shaped mounts from the 6th-7th c. assert also that the area of their origin and development was the Eurasian steppes and Central Asia. The sword from the Imperial tomb Pei-Chueu-Shan near Lo-Yang, from about A.D. 600, has silver mountings and a ring-like top (MMA, gift of Clarence H. Mackay, Inv. No 30.65.2). A similar silver-decorated ring-pommel sword was also found in Li-Xian's coffin from his tomb near Guyan, Ningxia (d.569, of Toba Xenbei origin, governor of Dunhuang for several years). The sword is 83 cm long and has a brown lacquered sheath, a pair of P-shaped silver fittings for suspension and silver chape.

We see representations of the ring-pommel sword on the relief from the tomb of emperor T'ai-Tsung in Xi'an; similar P-shaped fittings are shown in the mural of tomb of Dao Guid, Northern Qi (d.570), found at Quinan, Shandong; a white-glazed warrior figurine from the tomb of Zhang Sheng, Sui (d. 595) found near Anyang, Henan holds sword with P-shaped fitting. The number of examples of swords unearthed or represented in paintings, clay and stone can be increased.

Thus it can be assumed that the type of the MMA sword differs from the Avar and Malaja Pereščepina swords though they have something in common in the way of the attachment. We see also different areas of dispersion - while the ring-pommel sword is known from the East European and Central European plains, Siberia, Altai and China, the so-called Sasanian sword is found in the South Caspian lands and south of the Caucasus. We know that the Caucasus was the meeting point of Byzantines, Iranians and Steppe peoples like the Avars, Bulgars and Khazars, however there we do not find examples of the ring-pommel sword.

The problems referring to the relationship between these two types of swords - the Sasanian one and the Avaric one - also concern the decoration of the scabbard which, contrary to the constructive aspects, shows obvious similarities in certain aspects.

The first one is the nearly constant presence of the feather pattern, a style of rendering of the feathers which is typically Sasanian. The pattern of overlapping feathers that covers this scabbard is also evident on Sasanian helmets. R. Ghirshman interprets the feather pattern as a symbol of the Varagn bird, one of the forms of Verethragna, the Zoroastrian god of victory (Ghirshman, *Notes iraniennes*, 1, 1963:310), while H. Nickel refers to the feather pattern on this sword as symbolic of the eagle, the tribal image of the Huns (however, incorrect - the tribal legend he quotes is about the Hungarians and mentions another bird, the falcon). In burials in the Caucasus there are found parts of sheaths described as sheaths for the bow of the saddle. They have nearly the same or similar pattern, which perhaps hint that there is a certain relationship between the use of the feather pattern and the decoration of warriors weaponry and items.

The second great similarity between the Sasanian and the Avaric swords is the use of granulation technique in the decoration of the scabbard. This leads to another topic of discussion which is closely related to the problems of attribution and dispersion of the swords in the 6th-7th c., because not only the granulation appears on the scabbards of the swords but some, if not most of the swords from Eastern and Central Europe, and in some cases those from Iran, are found accompanied by belt fittings or horse harness fittings with granulation decoration.

Discussion of the peculiarities and spread of granulation technique in the 6th-7th c.

The belt fittings found together with swords from the Eastern European plane, the Northern Black sea coast and Central Europe are usually made in two technical modes. The first one is characterized by the use of pressed and stamped gold sheet with big grains soldered usually on the border of the buckles and appliques. These grains can rather be described as "pearls" and they are usually combined with inlay technique, while the second type is characterized by the use of small grains or granules, forming usually ornamental designs of triangles arranged in different ways. For example, both types of granulation techniques are found in Malaja Pereščepina with coins Heraclius and Heraclius-Constantine (613-641) (Werner, J.1984) and in Kelegei (Semenov, A. 1991:121-130; Balint, Cs. 1989: 95), while in Vosnesenka and Glodosi the "small" granulation is present. However, the existence of the pearl-like granulation is also known to belong to the Byzantines having in mind the so called "pseudobuckles" and these with point-comma design with large granules on the border of the plaques (Matsulevich, L.A. 1927:127:140).

The "small" granulation seems to be more dispersed in the East European plains (Volga-Don and Dniepr-Dnestr region): for example, granulation belt fittings from Artsybashevo found again with P-shaped scabbard mounts (Balint, 1988: 41) and in the Caucasus (Cuban region - i.e. northern Caucasus and southern Caucasus): for example, finds from Borisovo where P-shaped scabbard mounts are found related to the Utigurs (Genning, V.F., Chalikov, A, H. 1964:122-133) and granulation decoration of the belt fittings from Uch tepe (Balint, Cs. 1992, Pl. 19). To this list one

should also added the gold belt set from Northern Bulgaria, found near a pagan cult center in a grave with horse burial (Feher, G. 1932:131).

Though it is difficult to make such a distinction it seems that the Avaric finds show more stronger presence of the "pearl" granulation with incrustation, especially in the so-called "princely graves" in Bocsa, Kunbabony and other burials from the early Avaric period (Garam, E. 1993; Toth, E., 1996:391-408).

The relation between the decoration in granulation of the Sasanian scabbards and the belt ornaments of the steppes is discussed quite profoundly by Csanad Balint (Balint, Cs. 1978). However there are still many questions that can be raised and many problems to be discussed. Though the studies on all these finds are quite advanced, a complete map and a table of the finds of the P-shaped scabbard swords and belts decorated with granulation compared with coin finds and the routes in these geographical regions is still absent. This is difficult also because most of the items with granulation examples of this period that are kept in the museums in Europe do not come from excavations.

Referring to Sasanian examples in general, only a few belt buckles have been recovered from a scientifically excavated Sasanian context. Most appear by purchase, some in the museums, some in private collections.

The set of fittings for horse harness from the Louvre (AO 21405, Amiet, P. 1967: 275-276, fig.5). is dated to the end of the 6th and beginning of 7th c. Their decoration uses filigree and granulation techniques. What is important as specific and similar to a few Avaric finds and belts from Eastern Europe (Malaja Pereščepina sword and belt fittings) is the presence of ornamental design of triangles made of granules. The same refers to the silver belt (or horse harness?) from the Royal Museum of History in Bruxelles with alleged provenance Ormalu, region of Amlash, Iran and dated to the end of 6th beginning of 7th c. (*Splendeur des Sassanides* 1993: 55).

Another set of belt fittings from the Amlash Area, province of Gilan, Iran (Romisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum in Mainz Inv. No O.38459-O.38473) has a very specific decoration using granulation for the border of the fittings and the central motifs of S-shaped lines making circles and hearts which are made of filigree (Overlaet, B. 1998:274-276). There are a few similar items and among them the gold belt buckle from MMA found in Chiusi (Medieval Department 95.15.99, Baxter, S. 1976:107, pl. III; Kuehn, H. 1938:178-181) and shown as part of reconstruction of the warrior's grave in Castel Trosino (*La Necropoli altomedievale*, 1995: 19-20).

As Cs. Balint says there are no items with S-shaped granulation motif in Eastern Europe and it is rarely found, even exceptionally only among the Langobards (Balint, Cs. 1992:318-319). The loop of the buckle and the inscribed signs over the bush-sheath together with its pin point to Byzantine prototypes, as well as perhaps the size and the shield shape of the Mainz belt fittings, however we see similar S-shaped ornamental designs in filigree combined with granulation on later examples from the Viking period (Duczko, W. 1985) which may hint, on the other side, of a certain specific link of tradition between them.

The belt set from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum consisting of a silver gilt buckle and gold belt fittings (*Ancient Iranian Metalwork* 1992:220-221, Pl. 42) was allegedly found in Iran, together with the gold sword handle and chapes. Each belt fitting is made from gold sheet in the technique of repoussé decorated with two rows of continuous dots enclosing a vine scroll pattern. Thus, it seems that here it is more correct perhaps to speak of imitation of granulation which is also used together with

filigree and "pure" granulation. We see a similar combination, this time of real granulation in the form of beaded border and rinceau design, on a Byzantine gold belt tab from Dumbarton Oaks collection (Acc. No 48.20, Ross, M., 1965:43, p. XXXV). However, the attribution of the Sackler belt as Sasanian may be doubted, especially because the granulation combined with vine scroll is more often and primarily typical of early Byzantine jewelry - bracelets, etc. Certain doubts can be raised also about the attribution of the sword to the Sasanian examples. Its handle is decorated with twisted wire and granulation to form a central braid surrounded by a scroll and vegetal pattern. These patterns are repeated on the metal trimming attached to the P-shaped mounts. Again the pattern seems to look more like Byzantine, however since we do not have examples of Byzantine swords it is difficult to define one certain group. Despite this, perhaps we can speak of different places of execution of the swords where different techniques were applied in the workshops and the use of twisted wire or filigree, braids and granulation seems to be more common for some Mediterranean workshops.

A set of gold belt fittings coming from North-West Iran (the British Museum 134715-33) is decorated with a repoussé design and sometimes with granulation. In some cases the gold is moulded over a bitumen core. The shield shape of some of the plaques are similar to those of the belt from Mainz, however somewhat different in size. The female heads (or of a genius-guardian?) on three of them have late Antique features (Barnett, R.D., J.E. Curtis, 1973: 119-137; LIXb).

Thus it may be suggested, that within the common use of granulation technique on the belt buckles and appliques which are found most often with swords with P-shaped scabbard mounts also using granulation, there should be distinguished different modes of application of this technique. There can be distinguished items with the basic use of repoussé and "imitation" of granulation, items with repoussé and granulation, presumably for the pearl border, items with granulation and filigree and items using the granulation technique not only for the border but for the ornamental design of triangles, sometimes combined with incrustation. All these differences may show different workshops and areas of dispersion. Thus it is difficult to discuss the origin and ethnic attribution of this granulation style found at the same time on Byzantine and Sasanian examples, and on examples of some Migration peoples in the 6th and 7th c.

Referring to the date of appearance and spread of granulation style it may be pointed out that in the Avaric graves it appeared in the late 6th and early 7th cc. That the belt with granulation appears as early as the beginning of the 7th c. is also shown by the finds in Uch-Tepe. On the other hand, belt ornaments with granulation still appear in the beginning of the 8th c. as Galiat finds show. (Balint, Cs. 1988:38)

The swords from Voznesenka and Artsibashevo stand typologically in the 1st half of 7th c. The 3-curved mount attachments with granulation of the sword from Malaja Pereščepina have similarities only in similar early Avaric finds. All other swords have P-shaped attachment as well as the sabre (elman) found in Moshchevaya Balka and date from the 7th even early 8th c. True sabres appeared in Eastern Europe with the beginning of the 8th c. (dinar in Galiat, the grave from Galiat is chronological parallel of one T'ou - kieu grave at Samarkand (Balint Cs., 1989, ref. 70, p. 38). It seems that the period of dispersion of swords with P-shaped scabbards is roughly from the 6th until the end of the 7th and even in 8th cc.

Thus if we compare the date of distribution of the granulation style, especially that of the small granules in triangles and the dispersion of the swords with 3-curved scabbard mount for attachments we may see that both are typical only of the 6th and the 7th c., while the granulation style on belt fittings somewhat continues its life for a certain time later until the 8th c.

Referring to the geographic regions of dispersion of the granulation style it may be assumed that granulation applied to gold and silver is predominant in the Caucasus and then in the Dniepr-Dniestr region. It seems that it was less used for Avaric items from Central Europe, though they come from the important princely graves; on the Balkans the Madara belt is only one sporadic find. Doesn't this mean that granulation belts were produced only in the region of Dniepr-Dniestr and the Caucasus and then stopped to be produced in the new lands where the Avars and the Bulgars moved?

Who were the bearers and transmitters of the granulation belts and the swords? J. Werner insists on either Iranian or Byzantine origin of the swords and granulation belts (Werner, J. 1974) while R. Ghirshmann says that the granulation techniques came to the Sasanians from the Avars (Ghirshman, R. 1963). But there remains one problem if we accept the opinion of Ghirshman: if the Avars were to enter in the crisis in the Caucasus in 558 (from where they probably sent their first envoys to Byzantium) then how, for such a short period, they appeared in Europe in 567.

There are different opinions besides the one accentuating on the basic influence of the two great sedentary empires, the Byzantine and the Sasanian ones on the nomadic peoples of the Steppe zone: one opinion insists on the Avars, another prefers either Khazars or Savirs, while still others show Utigurs and Kutrigurs (of Bulgar origin) or the Turks because of the presence of granulation among all - the Bulgars, Avars and others that were submitted to them for a certain period and it is also known that the ruling parts of the nomadic unions were of Turkic origin.

In this case it is difficult to state one firm opinion **referring to the ethnic origin and place of inspiration of the granulation style** and its application on the P-shaped and 3-curved scabbard sword mounts, since these items of warrior's esteem and dignity seem to be in fashion in this period in large areas. Other finds from the Caucasus that are similar to Avaric finds, especially those of pyramidal earrings from Moshchevaya Balka, Hassaut and others, are examples of the Silk Road contacts. Together with the finds of Sasanian type in the region between Don and Dniestr (fewer with senmurv from Pavlovka, the Sasanian objects in Malaja Pereščepina and others - Marsak, B. 1996: 212-216) all may point the relationship of the granulation style of swords and belt fittings with the Silk Road and perhaps earlier traditions in Central Asia.

The origin of the granulation technique is stated to exist as early as the middle of the second millennium B.C. among the Sumerians, however its rise to eminence is known to be with the Etruscans (Wolters, J. 1983). Occurring also in pre-Achaemenid, Achaemenid and Sasanian art, it is also typical for the Greco-Roman and early Byzantine jewelry. However, its application especially on items of warrior equipment among the Byzantines and Sasanians seems to come into fashion after the contacts with the Steppes. Finds from south Kazakhstan, 3rd c. A.D. and other finds from south Siberia, Kazakhstan and the Ural region which are parallel to the so-called Sarmathian-Hunnish finds in the East-European plain and Black Sea coast may appear to be the origin of such inspiration (Zasetskaia, I.P. 1975:50).

At the end we want again to stress on some suggestions that we have made in this paper besides the attempts to show some distinctions in the application of granulation and its geographic and ethnic dispersion, being aware of the shortcomings and insufficiency of the ideas discussed. The first one refers to the Central Asiatic origin of the ring-pommel sword that was the prototype of the Avaric swords and the Malaja Pereščepina sword. The second one again refers to the Central Asian origin of the granulation style applied on the P- and 3-curved shaped scabbard mounts and on belt fittings found in the 6th and 7th cc. The relationship between their appearance among the Byzantines, Sasanians and the peoples from the Steppes such as Avars, Bulgars, Turks, Khazars is still to be further established and given its more exact and detailed picture.

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Fig. 1. Painting from Piandjikent, Soghdiana, 7th-8th c., details of sword attachment after Sasanian (Roman) way.

Fig. 2. Donors. Wall painting from the Cave of the 16 Sword Bearers, Qizil, 600-650 (Indische Kunst-abteilung, Staatliche Museum, Berlin). Details of sword attachment with P-shaped mountings and straps.



Fig. 3. Khusrau II Parvis hunting. Taq-i-Bustan, 591-628.



Fig. 4. Sword from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art. Sasanian, 6th–7th c.



Fig. 5. From left to right. Short sword from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, sword from the British Museum, sword chapes, mounts and hilt sheath from the Louvre (after Splendeurs des Sassanides).



Fig. 6. Relief from the tomb of emperor T'ai-tsung, Xian, 637.

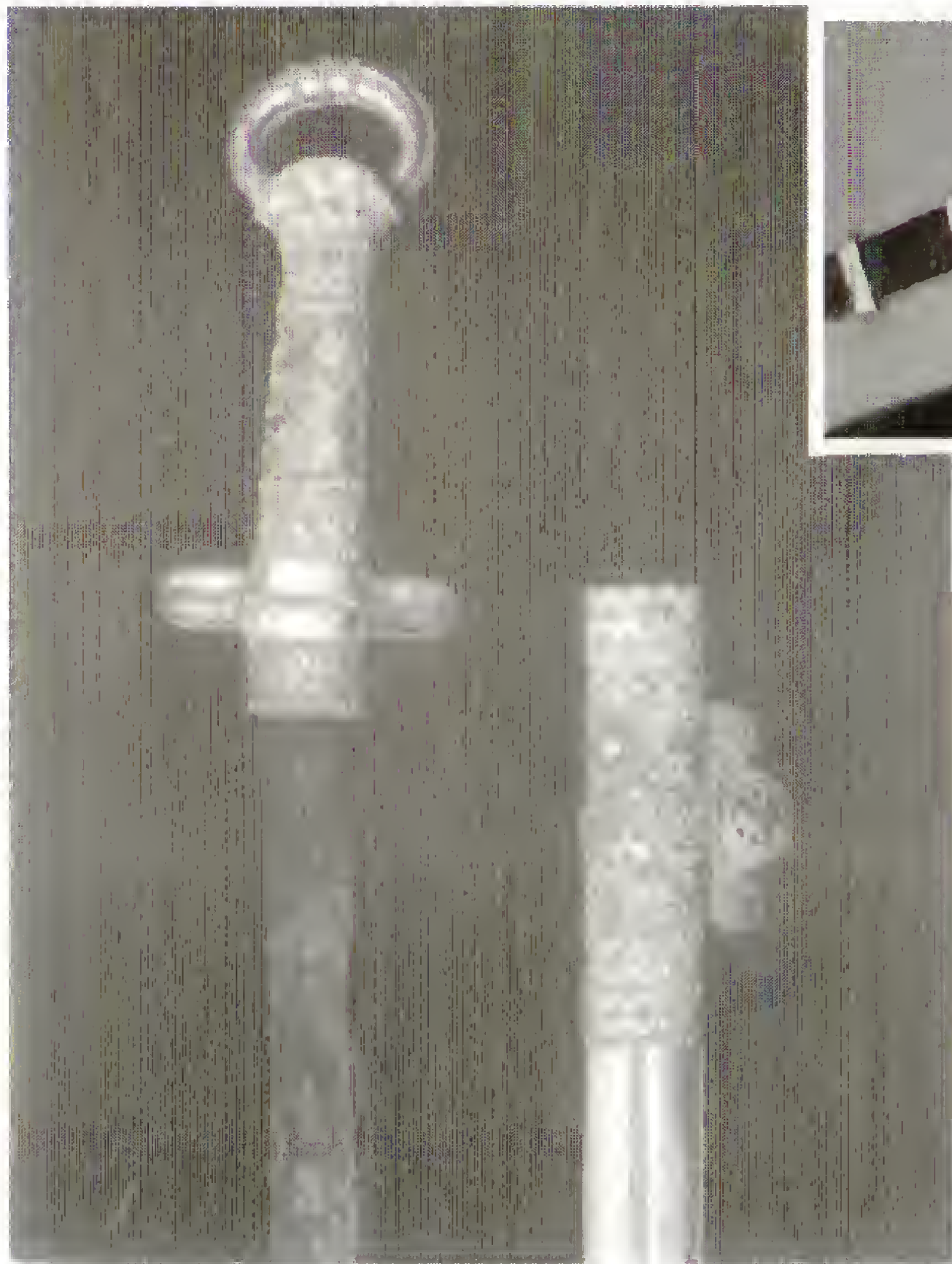


Fig. 7. Sword from Malaja Perescepina. Dniepr-Dniestr region, Eastern European planes, middle or second half of 7th c.



Fig. 10. Gold belt applique with pearl-like decoration and granulation from Vetren, Bulgaria. 7th c.



Fig. 8. Avar swords from the princely grave at Kunagota and the warrior grave at Kecskemet. (After L'or des Avars).

Fig. 9. Sword found in an imperial tomb near Luo-Yang (after H. Nickel).



Fig. 11. Gold pseudo-buckle with pearl-like decoration from the Avar princely grave at Bosca, Hungary, middle or second half of the

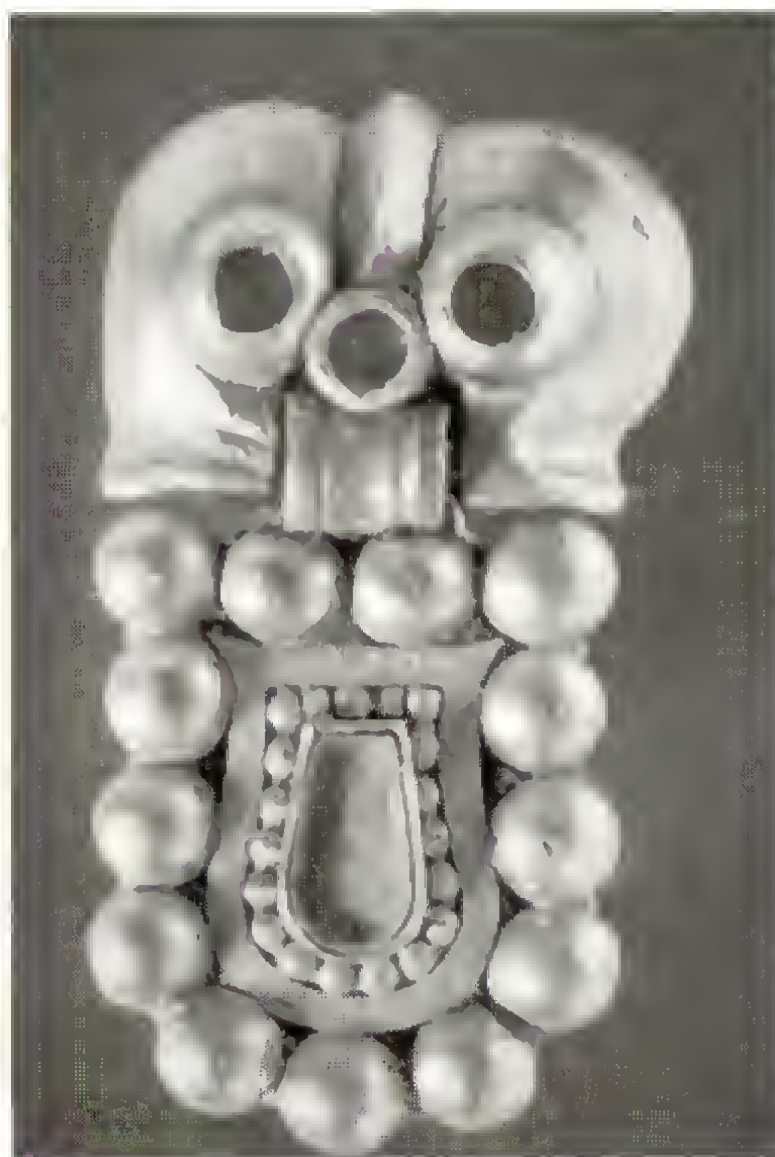


Fig. 12. Set of gold belt fittings from Malaja Perescepina.

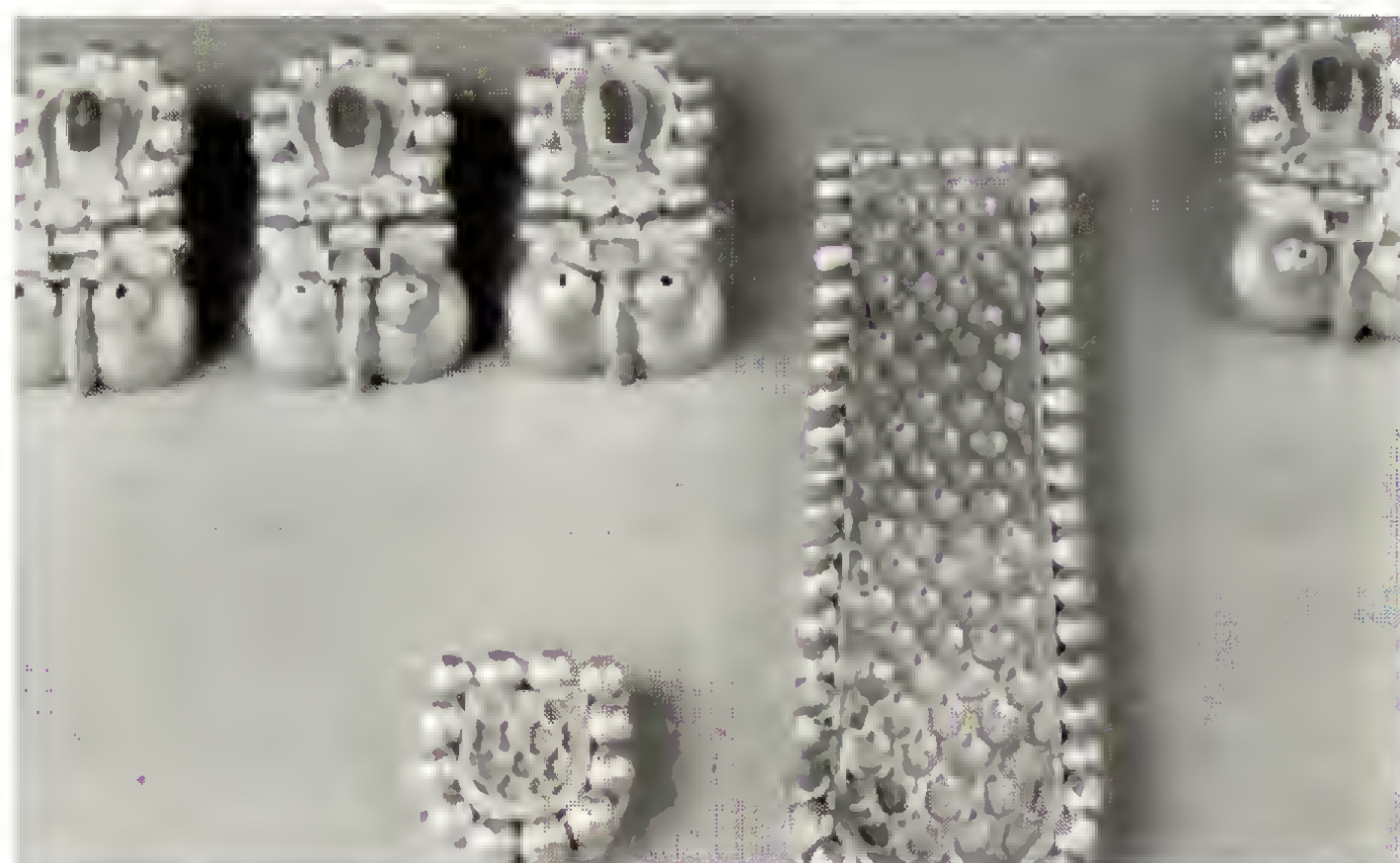


Fig. 13. Set of gold belt fittings from Kelegeiskie hutora, Cherson, 7th c. (Museum of Historical Treasures, Kiev).

Fig. 14. Byzantine buckles from the collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, USA.



Fig. 15. Sasanian silver gilt roundel with pearl decoration. (After P. Harper).



Fig. 16. Sasanian set of belt fittings from the British Museum (after Barnet, R. and J. Curtis).



Fig. 17. Gold belt set with granulation decoration from Madara, Bulgaria, end of the 7th c.



Fig. 18. Belt ends with granulation decoration from the Avar princely grave at Kunbabony, Hungary.



Fig. 19. Examples of granulation decoration from the Dniepr-Dniestr region, Vosnesenka, end of 7th – beg. of 8th c.

Fig. 20. Examples of granulation decoration from finds from the Caucasus. Belt fittings from Kamunta (after Balint, Cs. Archeologie der Steppe).

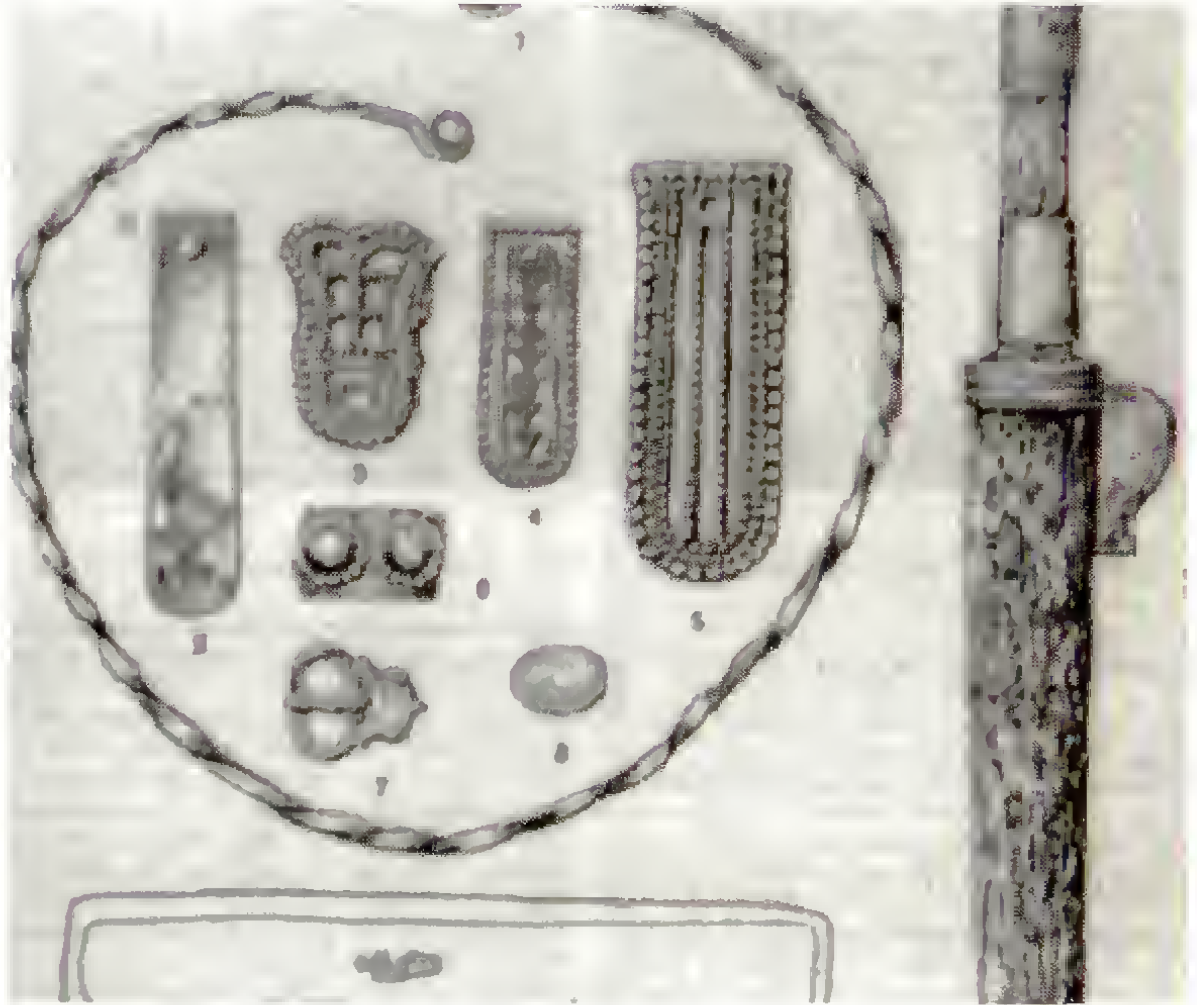
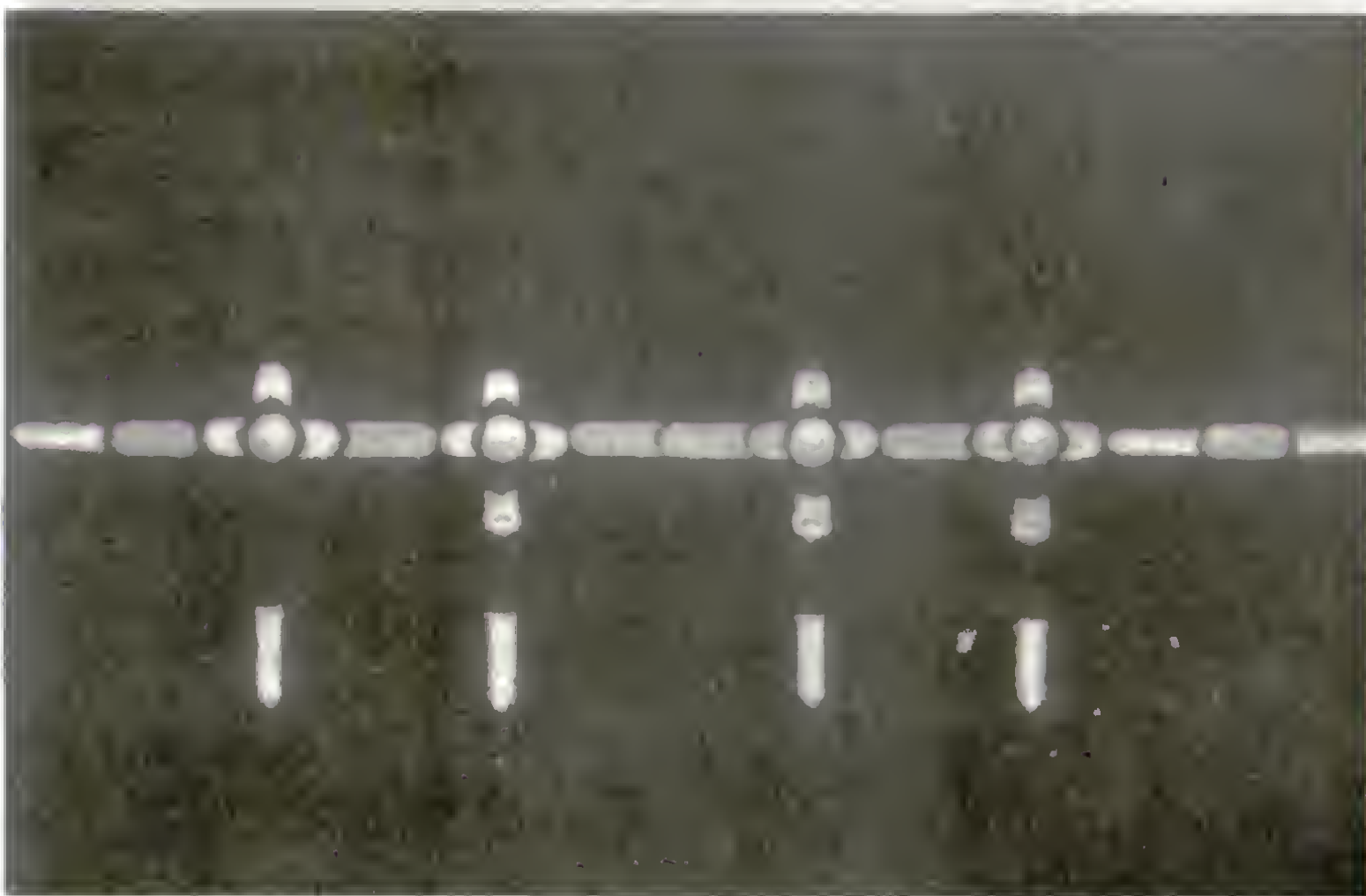


Fig. 21. Examples of granulation decoration from finds from the Caucasus. Belt fittings and a sword from Uch Tepe (after Balint, Cs. Archeologie der Steppe).

Fig. 22. Sasanian belt tabs and fittings for horse harness from the Louvre (after Ghirshman).



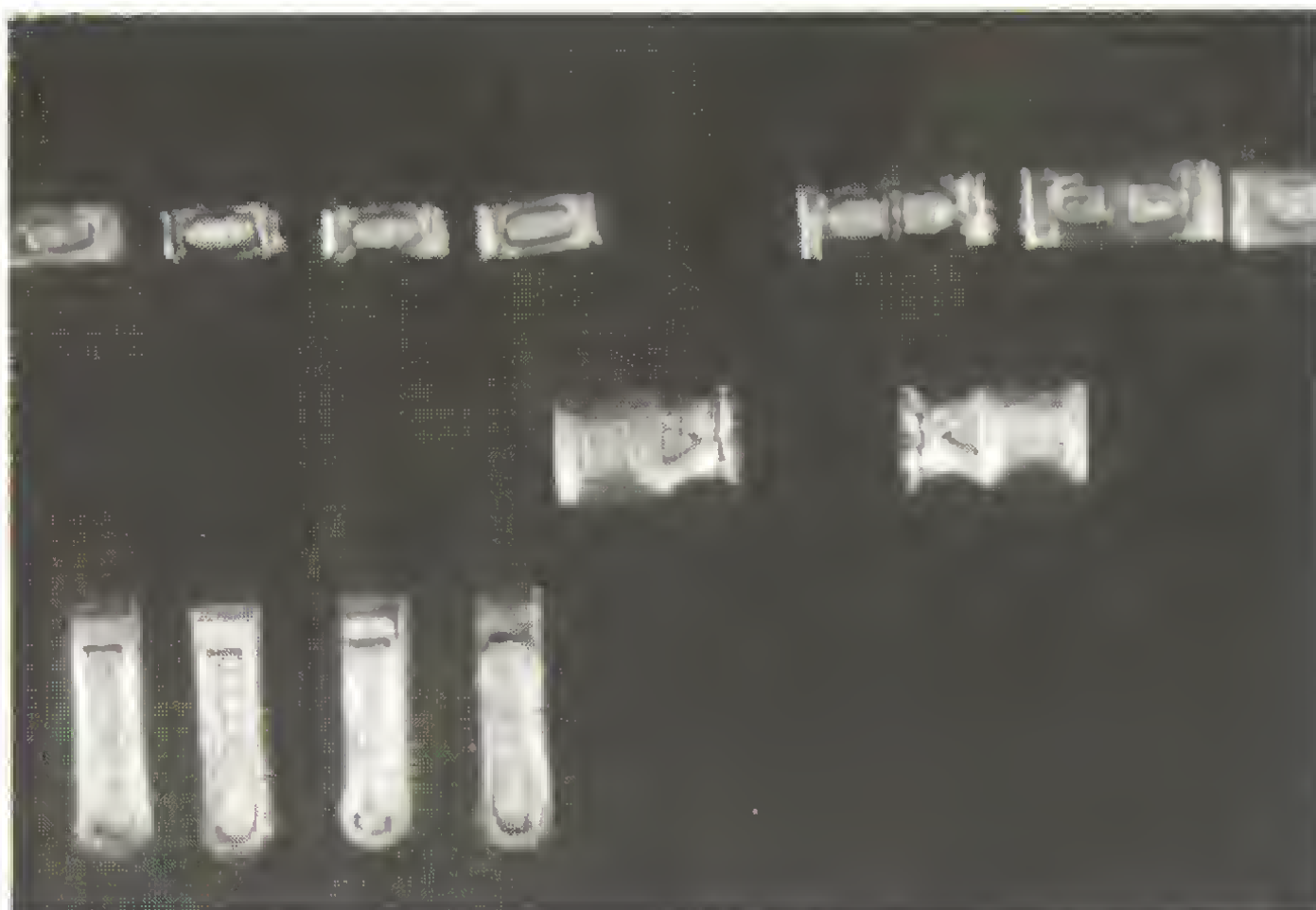


Fig. 23. Sasanian silver belt set (or horse harness?) from the Royal Museum of History in Bruxelles.



Fig. 24. Sasanian belt from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Washington, USA.



Fig. 25. Hunnish finds from the village of Shtuch'ego at lake Borovoe in Kazakhstan (after Zassetskaia, I.P.).

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Fig. 15. Sasanian silver gilt roundel with pearl decoration. (After P. Harper).

Fig. 16. Sasanian set of belt fittings from the British Museum (after Barnet, R. and J. Curtis).

Fig. 17. Gold belt set with granulation decoration from Madara, Bulgaria, end of the 7th c.

Fig. 18. Belt ends with granulation decoration from the Avar princely grave at Kunbabony, Hungary.

Fig. 19. Examples of granulation decoration from the Dniepr-Dniestr region, Vosnesenka, end of 7th - beg. of 8th c.

Fig. 20. Examples of granulation decoration from finds from the Caucasus. Belt fittings from Kamunta (after Balint, Cs. *Archeologie der Steppe*).

Fig. 21. Examples of granulation decoration from finds from the Caucasus. Belt fittings and a sword from Uch Tepe (after Balint, Cs. *Archeologie der Steppe*).

Fig. 22. Sasanian belt tabs and fittings for horse harness from the Louvre (after Ghirshman).

Fig. 23. Sasanian silver belt set (or horse harness?) from the Royal Museum of History in Bruxelles.

Fig. 24. Sasanian belt from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Washington, USA.

Fig. 25. Hunnish finds from the village of Shtuch'ego at lake Borovoe in Kazakhstan (after Zasedskaia, I.P.).

MODELS IN BULGARIAN CINEMA – AESTHETIC AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

Ingeborg Bratoeva

The development of Bulgarian cinema after World War II is dependent on the two changes of the country's social model in the last fifty years. This study describes the impact of these changes on the film-aesthetic. The ways in which the social models generated their aesthetic counterparts will be analyzed. The aesthetic models will be characterized in terms of themes, artistic performance and social reception. Conclusions about the most important phenomena in Bulgarian post-war fictional cinema will be made.

The term *socialist realism* in a cinematic sense is of great importance for this analysis. The term is used here in the sense of the definition given in the official Soviet encyclopedia of cinema *Кино (Энциклопедический словарь)*¹ - cinema socialist realism is: "an art method which represents the aesthetic expression of the socialist-conscious conception of the world..."² The films made according to the rules of the officially imposed aesthetic style belong to the model *official film*.

The trend of resistance to *the socialist-realistic* dogmas is represented by *the anti-official film*. This term includes heterogeneous cinema works, united by their digression from the official aesthetic.

The third model, *the cinema of the transition*, that is in a process of formation during this decade, is discussed as an aesthetic equivalent of the current social change.

The rise and the development of the different cinematic models will be followed historically. The general features of each model will be described. Particular films will be mentioned only as examples of the different models.

Cinema takes a special place in totalitarian culture. It is one of the most important elements of the mass-communication system. It has the function of spontaneously affecting personal motivation and value systems. In the middle of the 1940s Bulgarian cinema was transformed to an "art of the state" — a means of propaganda and legitimization of the communist utopia.

The most important change concerning this transformation was the nationalizing of film production. Bulgarian socialist cinema began its development in conformity with the production rules, organization structures, and ideological and artistic schemes of the Soviet cinema.

The first Bulgarian fiction film designed as “art of the state” had to prove the advantages of state film productions over the private ones, and had to incorporate the socialist idea of cinema as the Government had issued special decrees to this end. The press announced its opening date and the magazine of the Union of Bulgarian Filmmakers ran the Party opinion that this film “must, by reflecting the struggles of our nation, the current ones and those from the near past and those from the remote past, pose and solve the kind of humanitarian problems that are relevant to our times, which stay in the consciousness and determine the behavior of the population.”³ This quotation indicates three important trends, promoted in Bulgarian cinema in the following decades. History was interpreted with a permanent accent on the social conflicts. The main theme of cinematography became the mythology about the most recent past. The cinematic works were evaluated first and foremost ideologically.

The ideology was unable to produce the desired pattern by itself. So, a compromise solution was found: work on the filming of the play *Калин Орелът* [Kalin the Eagle], which had already begun in wartime, was resumed. The nationalized material was reshaped after the new ideas. The film came to the screen in 1950. The result was a melodrama, renamed to social-psychological drama and adapted to the requirements of the new ideology.

Each particular film in the 1950s was shot after especially elaborated instructions. The ideologists of the Party strictly specified the theme, the development of the plot, and the character sketch of each hero. This practice died out when the social system gradually became stronger. Control was exercised by more sophisticated means. Every film was judged by the ideological advisers of the Central Committee of the Party before coming on screen. In those cases when, despite all preliminary measures, “wrong” films had escaped the censorship a system of sanctions was set in motion. In the most serious cases the filmmaker was deprived of the right to work for years. These methods did not change until the end of the totalitarian period, regardless of eventual permutations.

Communist ideologists developed a kind of “aesthetic engineering”. They imposed a new “genre” on cinema which they named *historical-revolutionary film*. It was a Soviet “discovery.” In the years after World War II it was developed through the whole socialist cinematography. It would be more exact to speak about a thematic cycle - a composite film epic about the feats of the hero of the social utopia. This epic existed in Bulgarian cinema mostly as *romantic drama*. There were also tragedies, melodramas, adventure dramas (after 1969), and even comedies. Parody was the only style in which no one ventured to make a *historical-revolutionary film* during the whole totalitarian period.

The first Bulgarian film from this cycle was *Тревога* [Alarm], 1951. The so called “positive character” appeared in Bulgarian cinema for the first time. This kind of hero was compulsory for *the socialist realism*. This character had three basic manifestations - *Warrior of the Party*, *Builder of Communism* and *Party Leader with divine qualities*. He came to Bulgarian cinema “ready-made,” already elaborated in Soviet cinema. *The Warrior of the Party* was called upon to destroy the “old world” and to impose the social utopia in a violent way. He appeared as a participant at the September Revolt of 1923 (*Септемврийци*) [September Revolts], 1954. He was as well a member of a terrorist group (*Песен за човека* [Song of Man], 1954; *На малкия остров* [On a Small Island], 1958; *А бяхме млади* [We Were Young],

1961; *Пленено ято* [Captured Squadron], 1962; *Веригата* [The Chain], 1964 ; *Вула* [Marriage License], 1965; *Черните ангели* [The Black Angels], 1970; *Последната дума* [The Last Word], 1973; *И дойде денят* [And the Day Came], 1973, as well as a commander of a guerrilla detachment (*Командирът на отряда* [The Commander of the Attachment], 1959; *Партизани* (Животът си тече тихо) [Life Flows Slowly By], 1957).

This thematic cycle developed its standards of style gradually. The Hero was captured by his enemies without fail. He was certainly subjected to torture by them. His belief in Communism gave him the power to endure the torments. The moral steadiness of the Hero supplied the central evidence of the communist utopia's correctness. In most cases, this character died a martyr to the cause of Communism. The only weakness the Hero was allowed was to fall in love. Nevertheless love was not to disturb the class struggle (*Първи урок* [First Lesson], 1960; *А бяхме млади* [We Were Young], 1961). The Hero underwent, like the heroes from the old epics, a transformation from Warrior to Cultural hero. This transformation took place on screen quite figuratively in the 1950s and in the 1960s. The former guerrilla became a builder, a constructor. He erected buildings and mastered the elements with his hands in films like *Утро над родината* [Dawn over the Homeland], 1951 and *Димитровградци* [People of Dimitrovgrad], 1956. The character of the Enemy, constantly committing sabotage against the blossoming social utopia, formed the main opposition in the social realistic narrative. This character was developed parallel to the character of the Hero.

In the course of time, the builder turned into a secret service agent, a "warrior at the silent front" and continued the class struggle.. *Г-н Никой* [Mister Nobody], 1969 - the first film from a new crime series came on screen at the end of the 1960s. This series had a constant main character - the officer from the Bulgarian secret services, Emil Boev. Boev appeared on screen immediately after the Prague spring, an event that the communist regime interpreted as an evidence that the "enemy from the West" had not given up the destruction of the communist system. Emil Boev, the "warrior at the silent front, "had to defend" "the achievements of the revolution" throughout a decade. He did it in the films *Няма нищо по-хубаво от лошото време* [There is Nothing Finer than Bad Weather], 1971; *Голямата скука* [The Great Boredom], 1973; *Реквием за една мръсница* [Requiem for a Tramp], 1976; *Умирай само в краен случай* [Dying at the Worst], 1978; *Тайфуни с нежни имена* [Typhoons with Gentle Names], 1979. This serial was a mirror reflection of the James Bond serial. The East/West direction of opposition was changed, as well as the names and the nationalities of the characters.

The dogmatic *socialist realism* rejected the existence of popular cinema. The putting of the Hero in the context of a crime serial was a retreat from *the socialist realistic* dogmas. It was evident that the movies made according to the dogma had lost their impact on the audiences since the end of the 1950s. From the early 1960s the opinion had been imposed that *socialist realism* is was a system in permanent development. The struggle for a new audience-the TV generation began in the 1970s. This fight caused the "invention" of popular cinema for revolutionary purposes. The action movies *Осмият* [The Eighth], 1969; *Черните ангели* [The Black Angels], 1970; *По дирята на безследно изчезналите* [On the Tracks of the Missing], 1979 appeared on screen. However, in the 1980s some Bulgarian films reverted to the

social realistic dogmas. At the very end of the totalitarian period “an epic about the Leader” was shot. The films *Ударът* [*The Thrust*], 1982; *Ешалоните* [*The Echelons*], 1986; *Те надделяха* [*They Prevailed*], 1986 were made as a kind of heroic variation on Todor Zhivkov’s biography.⁴

The crisis in totalitarian society forced the communist rulers to seek a new cultural identification. They found it in the mediaeval glory of the Bulgarian state. The cultural experts of the Party developed a broad program of events, dedicated to the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state. Cinema had to play its usual propaganda role. The state spent a huge amount of money to sponsor historical super-productions. The state’s cultural policy aimed at making Bulgarian cinema popular outside the country. The films *Хан Аспарух* [681 - *The Glory of the Khan*], 1981; *Борис I: [Boris I:] Покръстването* [*The Conversion to Christianity*] (part I), 1985; *Слово за буквите* [*Discourse of Letters*] (part II), 1985; *Денят на владетелите* [*The Day of the Rulers*], 1986; *Константин Философ* [*Constantine the Philosopher*], 1983 were made with practically unlimited budgets. The directors of these historical super-productions imitated the Hollywood style with the hope of achieving fame abroad and finding markets for their films.

By the end of the totalitarian period official criticism and aesthetics attempted to absorb very heterogeneous films into *socialist realism*. These films had been made in completely different stylistics. The social crisis forced the communist ideologists to show more aesthetic tolerance. They tried to demonstrate “the great diversity of the socialist realistic artistic means.” So, they signified as *socialist realistic* a variety of cinematic works. Nevertheless, loyalty to the political system attended the evaluation of every film.

The official film kept its main social function in the course of four decades, to the same end of the totalitarian period. This kind of film, despite its different modifications, had been always made as a means of social manipulation. The only producer, the communist state, regulated the themes and artistic style of the film-art. The cinematic works were distributed only for ideological reasons, regardless of their commercial success.

It is relevant to ask, if all the films made during the totalitarian period, must be considered *socialist realistic*. It is necessary to separate the works just shot during that time, from the movies directly maintaining the regime. In my opinion, there is a considerable amount of Bulgarian films, made in the years of communism, that do not belong to the official style. A group of Bulgarian filmmakers considered open confrontation with the regime an absurd. They tried to pronounce as *socialist realistic* works that had obviously broken the official rules. This approach developed to a usual skill to delude the communist censorship. Another group (Binka Zhelyaskova, Rangel Valchanov, Irina Aktasheva, Christo Piskov, Edward Zakhariev, Lyudmil Kirkov, Nikolai Volev) worked obviously against the ideological and aesthetic prescriptions.

The second model - *the anti-official film* appeared already by the end of the 1950s. This model had three variations: 1. *Films that break the aesthetic dogmas of the socialist realism but do not provoke ideological attacks*; 2. *Films that challenge the communist ideology with an honest picture of the totalitarian reality but refuse a stylistic provocation*; and 3. *Films that reject socialist realism as an ideology as well as a style*. *Партузани* (*Животът си тече тихо*) [*Life Flows Slowly By*], 1957 and

На малкия остров [*On a Small Island*], 1958 were the first attempts in Bulgarian cinema to oppose the dogmatic aesthetics. Both were *anti-fascist dramas* that contradicted the strict rules of interpretation of this “sacred” topic.

Партизани (*Животът си тече тихо*) [*Life Flows Slowly By*], 1957 is the first *anti-fascist drama*, created by actual participants in the wartime communist resistance: the screenwriter Christo Ganev and the director Binka Zhelyazkova. They had believed in the communist utopia in all sincerity. They underwent a real crisis when they realized that the utopia was unrealizable. *Партизани* (*Животът си тече тихо*) [*Life Flows Slowly By*], 1957 was probably the first film in the Soviet bloc warning about the discrepancy between communist ideology and the social reality. A new type of cinematic character appeared in this film. For the first time in *socialist realistic* cinema, the communist Hero degraded to a negative character. The former guerrilla commander abandoned his social ideals and became corrupt. Rangel Valchanov, the director of *На малкия остров* [*On a Small Island*], 1958 also did not reject the communist ideology but he chose a neorealistic style. Visual authenticity typical of neorealism discredited the social-realistic pathos.

The regime’s reaction to these works was unexpected for the filmmakers. The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party issued a decree called “About the status and the further development of Bulgarian cinematography”. This decree termed both films as “manifestations of trends wrong and demanding the further development of our cinema art.” The censors canceled the opening date of *Животът си тече тихо* [*Life Flows Slowly By*]. This film came on the screen thirty years later. “The Decree 1958” and the following Party censorship generated a paradoxical process in Bulgarian cinema - turning into “dissidents”, unexpectedly for themselves, directors who did not reject the social system. What was more, these filmmakers had criticised the social reality from a strict communist point of view. In that way, the censorship formed a group of films called by me *paradoxical dissidence* (for example *Завръщане* [*Homecoming*], 1967; *Прокурорът* [*The Prosecutor*], 1968; *Кум* [*Whale*], 1970).

Receiving a serious lesson from the censorship in the 50’s, Binka Zhelyazkova and Rangel Valchanov rejected *the socialist realism* stylistically in the 60’s. Both directors initiated the metaphorical style and the parable narrative in Bulgarian cinema with the films *Слънцето и сянката* [*Sun and Shadow*], 1962 (Rangel Valchanov) and *Привързаният балон* [*The Attached Balloon*], 1967 (Binka Zhelyazkova). The regime retaliated with a decree again. This enactment was dedicated to “the struggle against the bourgeois formalism”.

During the 1970s, regardless of the permanent censorship restrictions, Bulgarian cinema began to generate works that had nothing in common with *the socialist realistic* dogmas. A new generation of cinematographers tried to operate with means of expression adopted from the development of world cinema. The most impressive manifestations of this trend are the films of Georgi Stoianov. Georgi Stoianov initiated the style of the absurd into Bulgarian cinematography. He had developed his interest in absurd expression during his study at the Film Academy in Paris (IDEC). Stoianov’s debut *Дрямка* [*Doze*], 1965 is the first Bulgarian absurd comedy. The censorship suspended this film from the screen and thus it was excluded from Bulgarian cinematic context. However, Georgi Stoianov went on with his stylistic experiments, discovering a formula acceptable for the censorship. He chose anti-bourgeois and anti-fascist plots for his next films *Случаят Пенлеве* [*The Penleve Case*], 1968 and *Птици и*

хрѣтму [*Birds and Greyhounds*], 1969 and interpreted these plots by unconventional cinematic means. A number of directors followed him and made their stylistic experiments, elaborating the historic-revolutionary matter during the late totalitarian period.

In the 1960's the second variation of the *anti-official film* was also developed: film that challenges the communist ideology with an honest picture of the totalitarian reality but refuses stylistic provocation. The attempts of lending a moral meaning to the utopia generated this cinematic form. The films *Смърт няма* [*There is no Death*], 1963; *Вълчицата* [*The She-Wolf*], 1965; *Рицар без броня* [*Knight without Armor*], 1966 represented this model best. *Бялата стая* [*The White Room*], 1968, in my opinion the most important film of this decade, belongs to this trend. *Бялата стая* [*The White Room*] was shaped with a precise balance between psychological analysis and social criticism. This film evaded the censorship, came to the screen and exercised a real impact on the cinematic process.

Bulgarian actor Apostol Karamitev played the main part in *Бялата стая* [*The White Room*]. Karamitev was the most celebrated Bulgarian film-actor at that time. His means of expression opposed the socialist realistic pathetic. All the characters he had performed were ruining the regulated image of the Hero. Karamitev was the most outstanding but not the only representative of the peculiar "actor's resistance" to the social realistic dogmas. This actor's opposition was also mostly represented in the performances of Georgi Kaloyanchev, Nevena Kokanova, Peter Slabakov. A similar trend of actor's resistance occurred in the whole East European cinema. The provocative actor's performance blossomed first and foremost in the comedies whose number increased in the late 1960s. The genre developed in the limits permitted by the censorship - "social criticism on untypical occurrences". The films *Шведските крале* [*Swedish Kings*], 1968; *Гибелта на Александър Велики* [*The Death of Alexander the Great*], 1968; *Покрив* [*A Roof*], 1978; *Топло* [*Warmth*], 1978 represented this trend. The most important works among the comedies were the films of Peter B. Vasilev *Специалист по всичко* [*Jack-of-all-trades*], 1962 and *Кум* [*Whale*], 1970. At the beginning of the 1960s the official appreciation of *Специалист по всичко* [*Jack-of-all-trades*] was positive. *Кум* [*Whale*] (with an opening date immediately after the Prague spring) was estimated as dangerous by the censorship. The original version of its screenplay had never come to be shoot. The film was shot after a compromise version but even this variation did not seem harmless enough to the communist censors. The already finished film was cut off and "repaired". The full version of *Кум* [*Whale*] came to screen twenty years later in 1990.

The most explicit attempts to correct the socialist realistic aesthetic were made in the 1970s. These years were the crowning decade of Bulgarian cinema. Bulgarian cinematographers, using the gathered experience created a virtual national cinema. So, they concentrated on experiments beyond the communist ideology. The development of stylistic quests and the mastering of new cinematic genres were the most important characteristics of this decade. The main artistic trend aimed at identification with the folklore and the historical roots of the national self-consciousness. The most celebrated works of Bulgarian cinematography demonstrated this manner. The films *Козият рог* [*The Goat Horn*], (1972); *Лачените обувки на незнайния войн* [*The Unknown Soldier's Patent Leather Shoes*], 1979 and *Мера според мера* [*Measure for Measure*], 1981 dealt with universal problems, presented on a folklore background.

The 1970s were also the time when the social critical drama strengthened its position in Bulgarian cinematography. In the 1980s social critical dramas focused on the social deception and represented the alternative to the official historical super-productions. To this group of films belonged Edward Zakhariev's *Преброяване на дивите зайци* [*The Hare Count*], 1973; *Вилна зона* [*Villa Zone*], 1975; *Елегия* [*Elegy*], 1982; Lyudmil Kirkov's *Момчето си отива* [*The Boy Turns Man*], 1972; *Не си отивай* [*Don't Go Away*], 1976; Ivan Andonov's *Самодивско хоро* [*Fairy Dance*], 1976; *Черешова градина* [*The Cherry Orchard*], 1979; Georgi Dyulgerov's *Авантаж* [*Advantage*], 1977; *Трампа* [*Swap*], 1978; Borislav Sharaliev's *Всичко е любов* [*All Is Love*], 1979). This flowering of socially relevant films was tied to the total collapse of social values. The works mentioned put in a simple form the moral anxiety of their directors and found a considerable response in Bulgarian audiences. The intensification of the social crisis in the 1980s strained the relations between the filmmakers and the communist censorship. A number of films *Кратко слънце* [*Short Sun*], 1979; *Една жена на 33* [*A Woman at 33*], 1982, and *Смъртта на заека* [*The Death of the Hare*], 1982) were canceled from screen immediately after their opening dates. *Черно и бяло* [*Black and White*], 1983 was not allowed to be shown at all.

A considerable amount of Bulgarian films, shot during the last two totalitarian decades, were based on pronounced social criticism. I can draw a well-founded parallel between the Bulgarian *anti-official film dramas* and the Polish *cinema of moral anxiety* (the films of Krzysztof Kieslowski, Krzysztof Zanussi, Andrzej Wajda). I want to put an end to the myths of the total social submission of Bulgarian filmmakers and of the lack of socially relevant films in Bulgarian post-war cinema. The statement that there were no Bulgarian directors who had attacked essentially the totalitarian system is wrong. Irina Aktasheva and Christo Piskov shot their work *Понеделник сутрин* [*Monday Morning*], 1966 as a film that rejects social realism as an ideology as well as a style. The directors worked under the obvious influence of the French *Nouvelle Vogue*. They sought an intentional collision with the official ideology. The censorship identified *Понеделник сутрин* [*Monday Morning*] as an issue of social provocation immediately, and the film was placed "on the shelf" for thirty years. The phenomenon "films placed on the shelf" presents the limitations of cinema-dissidence. A film is an industrial product and the producer has the opportunity to control each stage of the production. East-European filmmakers systematically sought out ways to evade the aims of the producer - the communist regime.

The third model, *the cinema of the transition*, representative of the 1990s, is still developing. This model is a counterpart to the second change of the social model. As an aesthetic equivalent of the transition, this model reflects the contradictions of the difficult social evolution. Estimated after the principles of funding and production, this model has two variants: films with total state-funding (until 1991), and private productions with partial financial support from the state (after 1991). *The cinema of the transition* originated from the *anti-official film* already by the mid-1980s. It began to take form before the social changes in 1989. It is difficult to draw a fixed line between the bitter criticism of the social dramas of 1988 and the definite denial of communism in the films shot after 1991. The arrangement only after production principles is also insubstantial. For example, the films of the so-called *angry young people* (Ivan Cherkelov, Krasimir Kroumov, Lyudmil Todorov) were shot before 1991. These directors operate with a style typical for Western low-budget independent

production. The origins of the *cinema of the transition* could be found in the works of Nikolai Volev (*Маргарит и Маргарита* [*Margarit and Margarita*], 1988) and Peter Popzlatev (*Аз, Графинята* [*I, the Countess*], 1989). The essential message of these films was the dismissal of the social deception. Volev and Popzlatev turned back to the melodrama - the traditional genre of Bulgarian pre-war cinema. The melodramatic means of expression offered the opportunity to implement clear ethical ideas. A strong melodramatic element was noticeable even in 1952: *Иван и Александра* [1952: *Ivan and Alexandra*], 1988) and *Ти, който си на небето* [*Thou who art in Heaven*], 1989, films with more complicated artistic impact. So, on the eve of the social transition, a trend appeared in Bulgarian cinema that would dominate throughout the next decade. This trend, topical now, premises a drawn in black and white reality. This approach reminds about the first *social realistic* productions of the 1950s. The difference between both trends lies in the changed directions of dramatic oppositions. Now the Hero of communism is interpreted as a villain, and the yesterday-enemy, the middle-class person, appears as an innocent victim. The action in these films usually takes place in the early post-war years, at the time when communists came to power. In the films of the 1950s and of the 1960s, this era was interpreted as an epoch of construction. A considerable part of *the films of the transition* describe this period as a collapse of humanitarian values, as a season of disasters, as an age of chaos. A number of examples confirm this developing trend: 1952: *Иван и Александра* [1952: *Ivan and Alexandra*], 1988; *Кладенецът* [*The Well*], 1991; *Мълчанието* [*Stillness*], 1991; *Искам Америка* [*I Want America*], 1991; *Вампири, таласъми...* [*Vampires, spooks...*], 1992; *Сезонът на канарчетата* [*Canary Season*], 1993; *Сирна неделя* [*A Day of Forgiveness*], 1993; *След края на света* [*After the End of the World*], 1998. The expansion of *the absurd comedy*: *Трака трак* [*Tap - Tap*], 1996; *14-те целувки* [*The Fourteen Kisses*], 1997; *Испанска муха* [*Spanish Fly*], 1998 on the other side, indicates the collective perception of social disorientation in the 1990s. This public embarrassment was the main topic in Edward Zakhariiev's last film *Закъсняло пълнолуние* [*Late Full Moon*], 1996. The late director shot his last movie about the moral crisis of the transition with the same moral anxiety that always marked his works since the 1960s.

Regardless of the abolition of ideological dictate and the lifting of political censorship, social transition did not bring Bulgarian cinema the commonly expected artistic progress and creative inspiration. The reasons for this disappointment are rather complicated. The most important cause is the change of the production rules. Complete state-funding was canceled. Film-making turned to a system of private production with partial government-financing. The shortage of financial resources made it impossible to produce the critical mass of films. This circumstance hinders both the aesthetic crystallizing of *the model of the transition* and the creation of a virtual national cinema. It is noticeable that no new Bulgarian feature film was released in the first half-year of 1999. The collapse of Bulgarian cinema could not be explained only with economic reasons. The crisis of values and ideas, caused by the transformation of the social model is of great importance for this breakdown. The disintegration of the public discourse reflects into a total decomposition of the system of Bulgarian cinematography.

In conclusion I will stress again on the dependence of Bulgarian cinema on the social model. The modelling of the post-war style of Bulgarian films began with political pressure on film-makers to satisfy the standards of *socialist realism* in their

films. These political pressure shaped a cinematic model: *the official film*. Its aesthetics are a result of its social function - to be a means of manipulation. Its development began about the end of the 1940s, but it persisted until the end of the totalitarian period.

It is very important to underscore that, regardless of the rigid political censorship, certain filmmakers designed the opposite pattern: *the anti-official film*. This term includes heterogeneous productions, united by their digression from the official aesthetic. *The anti-official film* appeared during the end of the 1950s and challenged the communist ideology with an honest picture of the totalitarian reality until the era of "glasnost". A considerable amount of these films met with resistance from the Party censorship and were placed "on the shelf" for years. The regime excluded them from the cinematic process and they did not exercise an actual public impact. The films that succeeded to pass the communist censorship and to influence the audiences, assumed more public importance than the most revolutionary works. *The anti-official model* led to a third model in the middle of the 80's: *the cinema of transition*, an aesthetic equivalent of the process of social changes.

NOTES

¹ Кино (Энциклопедический словарь), Москва, Советская энциклопедия, 1986

² Кино (Энциклопедический словарь), стр. 402

³ Сп. "Кино и фото", 1949, бр. 4, стр. 3

⁴ Todor Zhivkov was the party leader and the head of state at that time.

THE CHANGED PRESENCE OF THE AMERICAN CINEMA ON THE BULGARIAN SCREEN DURING THE 20S AND 30S OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Alexander Yanakiev

During the first ten years of its existence “Moderen Teatar” presented French, Danish, Italian, English, American, etc. films. This diversity lasted through the 20s of the century. Statistics compare the two largest distribution companies in the country in the years 1924 and 1925 - “Moderen Teatar” and “Odeon”. All together the two companies have showed the Bulgarian viewer a total of 358¹ films and this can be seen from the table bellow:

	1924	1925	Germany	USA	France	Italy	Denmark	USSR
Moderen								
Teatar	104	82	60	53	51	12	7	2
Odeon	96	76	71	52	36	9	2	2
			36.6%	29,3%	24,4%	6,1%	2,5%	1,1%

The figures show that 90% of the film titles came from leading cinematographies - the German, American and French. In the case of *Moderen Teatar* they were balanced almost in half while in “Odeon” there was a noticeable preference for the German cinema before the French one. But in both cases one can see that the American cinema was prospering and gaining a more important part in the repertoire of the theaters.

During the next year it was to take up a leading position. This was to happen with the establishment of the FANAMET company in Bulgaria.

The syndicated company FANAMET was made up of three major American film companies of the 20s: 1. Famous Players Film Company, more popular under the name *Paramount Pictures*; 2. *First National*; 3. *Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer*. While the

name of the syndicate was made up of the three syllables of the three companies. They were competitors in the USA but united in order to coordinate their efforts in exporting films in the rest of the world. The head-office of FANAMET for Europe was in Berlin. But obviously this did not satisfy the Hollywood businessmen. For that reason a massive attack was undertaken in 1926 by creating representative offices in the whole of Central and Eastern Europe. Along with the branch office in Sofia, similar offices were opened up in Poland, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and Romania.

This was not the first branch office of a major foreign company in Bulgaria.

After the major Western film companies investigated our market, the French company *Pathe Freres* opened an office in Sofia in the beginning of 1914.

I think that this step was dictated by ... *Moderen Teatar*. In the year 1914 the national film distribution network was quite limited and could barely be a reason for the opening of a special office. But the established and growing contacts of *Moderen Teatar* Ltd. on the Balkans and in the Near East made that company a lucrative and sought-after partner. This was the logic, in my opinion, by which the French company decided to open a branch in Sofia.

This relationship model could be traced further. And so, when in 1930 *Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer* opened its own representative office in Sofia, the following announcement was made in the Sofia press: that "*as we have learnt, Metro will work in Bulgaria in cooperation with Moderen Teatar, which will distribute its films in the province but will keep its right to the major screen in Sofia.*"².

Of course, this did not place any restriction for independent presentations of the branches. If this was true their presence would be just formal or even meaningless. In this respect FANAMET was exceptionally active. For that reason it is interesting to follow the behavior of this company in the sphere of film culture in Bulgaria - how the methods of the major companies were implemented in Bulgaria.

Among the intellectual snobs it was considered as part of good manners to be against the American cinema and the American cultural invasion in Europe. But before accusing the Americans that they conquered the world screen, we should recall some facts. It was George Eastman who invented the flexible celluloid film material, while Thomas Edison implemented it in order to achieve the effect of the moving image. His mistake for that moment - the end of the 19th century - was that his projection apparatus was intended for individual viewing. The Americans have all the right to consider themselves part of the inventors of the cinema. During the first ten years of the development of the cinema they copied the European examples, but in the middle of the first decade of the 20th century they already had original achievements in the sphere of film expressiveness. Some ten years later David Wark Griffith was at the peak of his carrier. The European war for him was just a ground for moral thoughts, because the United States entered it with a delay of almost three years - as late as April 1917. And so the Europeans had already lost the battle for the

cinema and in the decades after the end of the First World War this became more and more clear.

As I have already stated, in the beginning of the 20s of the 20th century, Bulgaria was dominated by the German cinema and this is quite understandable. On the one hand were the ties that had been strengthened during the war, but on the other were the objective qualities and advance of the German cinema in those years. Gradually an ever growing interest in the American cinema could be noticed. But the American films entered the Bulgarian market with a delay of 2-3 years, while some of the most interesting titles were not shown at all. The reason for this was the fact that most of our distributors did not have serious and even more important, direct ties with the Americans. The films were bought through European intermediaries and that made them more expensive and delayed their screening. The situation was bad not only for the Bulgarian distributors but for the American film production companies as well. While their strategy presumed for them to really take over the world. That was why the companies united for the export of their production and for their effective presentation in all countries. That was how FANAMET is created.

Half a year later the professional press announced the results of the presence of FANAMET in Sofia: *"The importance of this direct tie of the American film production with our market facilitates Bulgarian film halls in acquiring American films. Before FANAMET entered the Sofia market, the great American film was a distanced wish which, due to the low exchange rate of the Bulgarian Lev, was an almost unreachable aim for the Bulgarian film distributor. That is why the American film rarely came to our screen in all its greatness as it came to the big countries. Since our country was reached only by sensational titles or melodramas of low quality, we had a wrong impression of the American film and identified it mainly and most of all with the names of Eddy Polo, William Duncan, Pearl White, Mary Welcamp and other heroes of the simple sports and crime entertainment, which only partially reflect the true character of the American Film art."*³

Actually FANAMET, as well as our other distributors, brought important American films in 1926. But I will restrain from analyzing this side of the cultural process now in order to concentrate on the functioning of the syndicate in Bulgaria.

Dmitrii Solyanik-Krassa was appointed for director of the Bulgarian branch of FANAMET. He had emigrated from Russia after the coup d'etat of 1917 and became active in films in Istanbul. From there he moved to Berlin where, in cooperation with the Bulgarian Dimitar Azmanov, he provided films for the Balkans and in particular for Bulgaria through the company *Palada Film*. The Americans noticed him and offered him the post in Bulgaria.

After his arrival in Bulgaria in the beginning of the summer of 1926, Solyanik-Krassa became quite active. He negotiated with the cinema halls in Sofia, toured the country in order to establish contacts with the houses in the provinces. He openly embraced the main principle of FANAMET: *"The Bulgarian owners of cinema halls are to get only new and with world fame American films and at accessible prices for our provincial theaters."*⁴ The intentions were wonderful but trade interests were

something quite different. That is why at the very beginning there was a conflict between the big Sofia film theaters and the syndicate - they could not reach an agreement on prices. On this occasion the newspaper *Zora* commented: *"We think though, that the audience does not lose anything, on the contrary, many of the premieres of FANAMET that are screened in the big cinemas, would probably cause a rise in prices while in the secondary cinemas everyone can see those films at accessible prices."*⁵ In Plovdiv there was a battle between the local *Moderen Teatar* and *Excelsior* for agreements with FANAMET. Some weeks passed and the Sofia theater *Odeon* already announced the films of FANAMET - obviously the controversies had been overcome and the American films took their proper place on the first screens in the capital.

Mr. Krassa's activity was not only aimed at reaching mutually profitable agreements. He practically demonstrated a lot of novelties. In the import system of films and their distribution one could sense the presence of a modern and even aggressive for the Balkan traditions style. Most of the films were shown quickly - simultaneously with their distribution in Europe. On the other hand they arrived directly from the producers. The chain of intermediaries was eliminated.

FANAMET was not the first in the preliminary screenings of premiere titles for the professionals. But it turned that into a practice. And even stirred the spirits: *"This propaganda method is quite new actually, but while in the more culturally developed countries this is widely practiced, for us is still strange and causes suspicion. And mainly because it is in the sphere of the cinema, for which today no one can say something good without being accused of "making advertisements" of a particular cinema. Especially when one starts talking about a particular film before it has had its premiere. This, according to many people means to make "American advertisement" of a given enterprise. And, of course, is there a wise person who would like to be accused of such a thing?.."*

*Our most noted caricaturist and renown connoisseur of the beauty of art - the respected Mr. Alexander Bozhinov, was not afraid, though, to be subjected to such an accusation and was the only one among novelists and journalists who was invited to see "The One that Got a Slap in the Face", and was brave enough to express his opinion of the film."*⁶

This suspiciousness and negativism among the writers, artists, journalists and painters whom Mr. Krassa invited to the screenings did not shake him up and he continued to show them in advance the best productions of the three film production companies. And these were the best films of the silent cinema.

Another novelty were the titles of the film themselves in Bulgarian. Until then the titles were put on glass and projected with special apparatus. This complicated system did not guarantee the concurrence between the original and the translated text on the screen. Besides, the glass got spoiled quickly and the letters became unclear. And so the titles on the film were a decisive step for improving the quality of the projections.

In October 1926 - a couple of months after the start of the activity - FANAMET announced a beauty contest in ten countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The prize was quite attractive - a contract to work in the cinema. All young ladies who saw themselves as stars of the world screen in their dreams received a chance to enter film companies such as Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Paramount, First National. Kodak also participated in the contest as the company commissioned to take special photos of the competitors on its film material.

A special system of a number of tours was worked out for selection in the whole country. Public contests, where the ladies were presented to the audience before the show, were held in the cinemas in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Shoumen, Rousse and Pleven. The best who have competed equally were photographed by a special photographer of "Kodak". The photographs of the three most beautiful ladies were sent to Berlin, where a professional jury decided which of the girls would take part in the final tour in Vienna. In the same way and with the same interest the contests were held in the other countries - Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania and Greece. The contest had some difficulties in Turkey and there was no representative of Turkey at the final tour.

In the beginning of 1927 the Berlin jury had its final say - Bulgaria was to be represented by a young actress from the National Theater, Zorka Iordanova. She undoubtedly had the beauty and the talent of an actress. But the contestants that were turned down and their fans (as this happens everywhere) were not satisfied by the decision. It became necessary for the experts to explain that the contest was not so much a beauty one as about a specific quality, which is called "photogenic". The winners were probably to become stars and for that reason actors' quality is quite necessary.

Possibly for some of the contemporary readers that contest might seem like a simple advertising trick. How can a Hungarian or Bulgarian girl act in an American or German film? But should I remind you that the cinema was still silent and there were no language barriers, while on the other hand Hollywood from the period of the end of the First World War systematically attracted all talented filmmakers from Europe. Thus the conditions of the contest were absolutely realistic and presented a real chance for all participants. Of course, all that was also used for excellent advertising purposes for the already existing stars of FANAMET.

But our beautiful girl was not that much taken by the prospect. Even before leaving for Vienna, Zorka Iordanova explained that she was going only because this will present Bulgaria. Furthermore, the hosts were preparing a ball of the beauties, where they were to be accompanied by girls in the respective national costumes, while FANAMET intended to create a special film for that event. Otherwise the actress was happy that she had recently returned to Bulgaria from her specialization in France, was rehearsing under the direction of Masalitinov in the play "The Chalk Circle" and already had a serious part in "Midsummer Night's Dream".

The love for the theater safeguarded Zorka Iordanova from the disappointment of not becoming Miss FANAMET.

The contest created positive emotions for the audience but also created additional obligations for Mr. Krassa. And the existence of FANAMET in Bulgaria was not without problems. On the other hand, the Berlin bosses closely followed everything. As early as October 1926 they paid an official visit to Sofia and stated that: *"the success that FANAMET has managed to achieve for the short period of its existence fully satisfies the head office and we foresee prospects for a secure stabilization of the American film in Bulgaria."*⁷

Along with this the Germans were quite surprised by the methods of competition that were introduced in Bulgaria - no less than the Bulgarians were surprised by the modern advertising tricks used by the syndicate.

During the first months of the existence of FANAMET in Bulgaria, some of the competitors attempted to grab some of its tempting titles. For example, the cooperative of the Union of Owners of Cinema Houses "Kinofilm" sent a circular letter, that it had contracts for almost all of the films of the syndicate and the cinema houses could get them through them. In reality there was no truth in this and Mr. Krassa directed their attention to the fact that it was the principle of FANAMET *"to get in touch directly with its clients by avoiding all kinds of intermediary of other companies"*.⁸

The petty contrivances that could have had some big economic consequences were not limited to this. Another famous trick was to use the fame of a star, company or literary work and to show some old film. In this way some titles-doubles emerged. For example "La Bohème" from 1922 with Maria Jacobinni instead of "La Bohème" with Lillian Gish from 1926. Or, for example, one day before the premiere of "Madame Sans-Gêne" with Gloria Swanson by FANAMET in "Odeon", "Moderen Teatar" announced the same title. Later it turned out that this was an old film with a similar title which was changed for that occasion. *"The management of "Moderen Teatar" wanted to fool the audience by using its interest in the new film. This, of course, was not achieved, because the public learnt in time and was angry of that contrivance, and this was also punished by the authorities as well by terminating the projection of the film with the false title."*⁹

I would also like to recall here about the difficult negotiations between FANAMET's branch and the big cinemas in order to prove that the Bulgarian film market during the second half of the 20s was already quite developed and it was not that easy to win some new positions. Even if one have at one's disposal a list with the most recent and popular titles. Serious efforts were necessary.

In order to encourage its branches in Central and Eastern Europe the management of FANAMET announced a competition among them for best results during a period of 10 weeks. This period was from the end of March till the beginning of June 1927 and the indicators were adapted for each branch depending on the number of cinemas in the country, the currency, etc. The Sofia office won first prize to the delight of our viewers and Mr. Krassa! The victory was even more important, because *"just before the competition one of the first cinema houses in Sofia (possibly "Odeon" - author's note) broke its contract with FANAMET and with this diminished to a great extent the results of its activity, because the breaking of this contract led to*

*a breaking up of relations between FANAMET and some of the biggest cinemas in the country."*¹⁰

It was imminent that such success bring about some counter measures. In the summer of 1927 there was a rumor that FANAMET was braking apart and that was why there was no sense for the cinemas to be involved with the company for the next season. Possibly there was some truth in these rumors, but for the moment in the USA unity was demonstrated. A special letter was sent to Sofia, signed by the directors of the three studios that made up the syndicate - Mr. A. Aronsson from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Mr. I. Blumenthal from Paramount and Mr. P. Kauffman from First National.

Nevertheless, one year later, in the summer of 1928, the syndicate was really, terminated. For the Sofia branch, the days of trouble had started a couple of months earlier. In the middle of March 1928 the Director of FANAMET-Bulgaria, Mr. Dmitrii Ivanovich Solyanik-Krassa died. He was only 35 years old...

An announcement came out in the press that FANAMET was to be transformed into a "Shareholding Company for the Distribution of Films in Bulgaria"¹¹. The magazine "Nashe Kino", which during the entire existence of the syndicate in the country followed its activity most closely, interpreted the event in the following manner: *"The transformation of FANAMET into a shareholding company with Bulgarian capital marks a stabilization of the film business in our country."*¹²

The optimism of "Nashe Kino", I think, was a bit premature and the new company did not manage to establish itself of our film market. Especially if one compares it to the immense and versatile activity of FANAMET, whose branch in Bulgaria existed only for two years, but left a serious trace in film culture.

Anyway viewers were already accustomed to get American films quickly and this could happen, first of all, through direct contacts. That was why it came as no surprise that Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer opened an office in Sofia on 11 Klementina Blvd in 1930.

In 1931 it published a special catalogue for the upcoming season. It included more that 30 new titles as well as 20 titles that had already been shown. This booklet was specially intended for film owners but some advertising leaflets about film had obviously been sold in the cinemas like theater programs. It was designated as "Tone-film Library", it was numbered and the price was 1 Lev.

The first sound equipped cinemas opened in Bulgaria in 1930. That was why the topic of the "sound" film was a leading one and was advertised more. It is quite tempting to discuss the topic how, thanks to the cinema, people in Bulgaria could hear the original English language for the first time.

I would like to warn the language researchers from jumping to hasty conclusions. The development of film technique and the industry in this case presents some surprise to those who are not that knowledgeable. In the first years of sound cinema neither

the system for dubbing films nor the mixing of a number of sound tracks had been invented yet. On the other hand, in a number of countries film projections that were not in the mother-tongue of the audience were not accepted. This put the American film business that had gained in power and thrown the divided by many languages Europe into a decline in a very difficult position. And this is what some of the major film companies in the USA were forced to do: *"Aiming to make its productions more international, the American company Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer whose large studios are in Hollywood, goes to great sacrifices to engage for its films a film ensemble of French, English and Spanish actors. In this way all American major films become accessible to almost all European nations. The tone film Spectre Vert has reached perfection as a sound production in its French version, thanks to the ingenious direction of the famous Jacques Feyder and the actors André Luguet and Jetta Goudal, that is why it is preferred everywhere. In this way the desire of MGM to create international films achieves greater perfection in its production because a choice is given for the best version."*¹³

The large text also hints at something else - the Bulgarian audience had to be specially told why an American film was presented in its French version and not in its ... German one, which was the general practice. By the way, the action of the film *Spectre Vert* took place in London, with Scotland Yard trying to solve some mysterious murders. In this sense both the French and the German versions were quite unacceptable for the viewer who was looking for realism.

As I have already mentioned, most of MGM's productions from that period came to the Bulgarian screen in their German versions. This was even used as an advertising accent: *"When Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer starts the production of its films with copies in the European languages, without any doubts for the main female part of its German versions, the management of the same company turned to Nora Gregor, who with her arrival brilliantly justifies the choice."*¹⁴

The more famous the actors, the shorter the explanations: *"Anna Christie is the first sound film made by Greta Garbo, where she speaks in German!"*¹⁵ From a historical perspective this was the best film in the whole collection of MGM for the season 1931-32. The other titles were more noted at the time of their screening but quickly lost their brilliance. Or maybe *Anna Christie* is mentioned and showed today mainly because Greta Garbo took part in it. The star system had just started to emerge and become effective even during the period of the silent cinema and it functioned quite successfully during the 1930s. That was why the catalogue placed a great accent on the stars. As a rule the directors and the other authors were not present at all in the advertising materials. That is why the appeal made to film house owners: *"Advertise also our stars - not just the titles of the films!"*¹⁶ seems rather funny to me. By the way it is possible, especially in the country, that the information which was presented was scarce and that was why MGM-Bulgaria insisted that owners were to follow the strategic standard - attracting the attention of the audience through the names of famous actors.

The coming forward of the major American film companies in Sofia from the mid-20s of the 20th century not only enriched the repertoire and presented that

important cinematography in an adequate manner. It brought about new standards in showing and promoting movies.

NOTES

- ¹ Newspaper "Nov Svyat", iss. 1, 1926
- ² "Nasheto Kino", iss. 156, 7 November 1930
- ³ "Nasheto Kino", iss. 78-81, 1 January 1927
- ⁴ "Nasheto Kino", iss. 64, 25 June 1926
- ⁵ "Zora" newspaper, iss. 2137, 14 August 1926
- ⁶ "Nasheto Kino", iss. 70, 20 September 1926
- ⁷ "Nasheto Kino", iss. 73, 20 October 1926
- ⁸ "Nasheto Kino", iss. 70, 20 September 1926
- ⁹ "Nasheto Kino", iss. 73, 20 October 1926
- ¹⁰ "Nasheto Kino", iss. 90, 15 July 1927
- ¹¹ "Nasheto Kino", iss. 106, 2 June 1928
- ¹² "Nasheto Kino", iss. 107, 12 June 1928
- ¹³ The Films of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer 1931-1932. [S., 1931]
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.

THE HAZARDS OF CULTURAL AND SUB-CULTURAL TRANSFER IN LITERARY TRANSLATION: SOME BULGARIAN EXAMPLES BASED ON A WILD TALE BY NIKOLAI KHAITOV

Jane Holt

In this paper I would like to share with you some of my experiences during the initial translation processes of the book *Gorskiyat doukh* (*The Forest Spirit*) by the contemporary Bulgarian writer Nikolai Khaitov which I began translating in 1996. At this time, I only had an inkling of the difficulties facing me in the task of translating these short stories. The enormous complexity of the task of cultural transfer had not yet revealed itself in its full light.

The stories in *The Forest Spirit* are all set in the remote Rhodope mountains of Southern Bulgaria, an area which is not only remote and exotic-sounding to the non-Bulgarian reader, but also rather remote and alien to most indigenous Bulgarians. Not only were the Rhodope Mountains the alleged home of Orpheus but they are associated with a bloody and troublesome past. The Rhodopes were not liberated from the Turkish yoke until the second decade of the twentieth century and many of the present day population are not Christian Bulgarians but *Pomaks*, descendants of Bulgarians who were forcibly converted to Islam by the Turks in earlier centuries.

From the outset I found the translation of Khaitov's stories problematic. As Hatim and Mason wrote: 'The translator has not only a bilingual ability but also a bicultural vision. Translators mediate between cultures..., seeking to overcome those incompatibilities which stand in the way of transfer of meaning'¹. During this initial translation phase, I grouped the problems facing me under the following headings: the problems of transliteration; the translation of *realia*; Turkish loans and non-standard colloquial language. Many of my concerns even at this initial stage of the translation process were to do with cultural transfer and the influence of things Turkish on a linguistic and cultural level in the text.

I hoped that I would solve many of my problems when I spent three months in Bulgaria and had access to the author himself. And this was indeed the case. However, my breakthrough came when I undertook a stylistic analysis of one of Khaitov's stories from his book entitled *Divi razkazi*. This collection of stories had been translated into English by Michael Holman in 1979 as *Wild Tales* and it struck me that Michael

Holman must also have encountered many of the problems which were facing me now.

I investigated this further and did indeed discover that he had struggled with his translation in a similar fashion. In his introduction to *Wild Tales*², Michael Holman discusses some of these difficulties. He speaks of Khaitov's campaign 'to revitalise and reclaim the language' and 'the wide gap' which 'traditionally separated the written from the spoken word' in Bulgarian which could only be conveyed to the English-speaker in an introduction. He points out how these stories, when published in Bulgaria, went a long way to bridging that gap. He discusses the oral tradition of the stories and the 'rich store of colourful words and expressions', many of which are 'so colloquial, dialectal or downright obscene they have not merited an entry in standard Bulgarian reference works.' In his introduction, the translator also discusses the problem of Turkish loans which is dealt with in more detail later in this paper.

The 'wild tale' referred to in the title of this paper is entitled 'Muzhki vremena' and translated into English by Michael Holman as 'When Men Were Men'. It is this story which I shall use to illustrate some of 'the hazards of cultural and sub-cultural transfer from Bulgarian into English'.

'When Men Were Men' is set in the not so distant past when it was not at all unusual in the Rhodope region for brides to be stolen. This tale is related in the first-person 'skaz' form by the now elderly *Pomak* bride stealer, Sheban, and is about one particular incident of bride-stealing from his youth. Elizabeth Berridge in her review of *Wild Tales*³ praises Michael Holman's translation of this story. She writes: 'By the use of homely language and the occasional regionalism, Mr. Holman has neatly closed the gap between cultures. Bride stealing, for instance, is not arguably a [regional English] Yorkshire custom, yet the narrator in 'When Men Were Men', convinces us that it is not all that bizarre.'

One of the major problems facing any translator from Bulgarian into English are the Turkish loans which appear frequently in the Bulgarian text. To the native Bulgarian speaker these words are immediately recognisable by their look, their sound and their feel. No matter how ingenious the translator is, certain problems of cultural and linguistic non-equivalence remain when dealing with these words. In an attempt to overcome these problems Michael Holman appended a glossary of these words at the back of his translation and italicised most of them in the text. ((It would appear that those not italicised can be found in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*.) In his 1982 paper on cultural and linguistic equivalence in three translations of *Divi Razkazi*⁴, the translator discusses the problem of Turkish loans in detail and identifies four categories of them in Khaitov's work. We can find examples of all four types of these loans in 'When Men Were Men'.

Category I: This category consists of those words which Khaitov himself has his narrator explain in the source language text.

For example:

(a) 'Na oniya mladite godini byakh delikanliya, bouina kruv.'

'I was a right daredevil in my young days. Bold as brass and blood on the boil.'

In his younger days the narrator had been 'delikanliya, bouina kruv'.

'Deli kanli' are the Turkish words and are roughly equivalent to the Bulgarian 'bouina kruv' ('hot blooded'). Khaitov has added the Bulgarian 'equivalent' after the Turkish to aid comprehension since this Turkish archaism is likely to baffle most

Bulgarian readers. In addition, the Turkish loan adds cultural 'flavouring' to the text and the adjacent Bulgarian words act as a heightening device. Understanding of the Turkish

words in the source language text is not absolutely necessary and in the English translation, the translator has chosen to drop the Turkish words. Instead he has chosen to reinforce the intensity of meaning through phraseological synonymy and alliteration.

Another example of this is:

(b) 'Togava sum vidyal chovek kato moun, kato svesht!'

'It was the first time in my life I'd seen a real live mummy.'

The Turkish loan 'moun' means 'candle' as does the Bulgarian word 'svesht'. A literal translation of 'kato moun, kato svesht' would be 'like a candle, like a candle' if we were to ignore the markedness of 'moun'. In the translation, the use of the Turkish word has once again been sacrificed and the translator has chosen an intense compensatory phrase instead, 'a real live mummy'. He has exploited the fact that the Bulgarian for 'mummy' ('moumiya') is very close in sound to the Turkish for 'candle' ('moun').

Category II: This category consists of words which have loan status in both the source and target languages. These words are often historical *realia*, titles or terms of address, festivals and articles of clothing and everyday use.

For example:

(c) <E-e-e-i, ago Shebane!>

"He-e-e-ey, Aga Sheba-a-an!"

The form of address *aga* is used both in the source language and the target language. This word is also included in the extra-textual glossary at the back of the translation. *Aga*, the glossary informs us, means 'Master, sir. (Turkish. In the Ottoman Empire, *Aga* was a minor feudal rank, later it was used as a term of respectful address for landowners, merchants and elders.)' This inclusion in the glossary avoids any confusion the English speaking reader might experience should he, for example, chance upon the *Concise Oxford Dictionary's* definition of *aga* as a Muslim 'commander' or 'chief'. (The *Concise Oxford Dictionary's* entry for *aga* is: (In Muslim countries, esp. under Ottoman Empire) commander, chief.)

Category III: This Turkish loan category consists of designations for Bulgarian *realia* where no equivalent Bulgarian designation exists. These objects are usually relatively unknown in the target language culture.

For example, in 'When Men Were Men', we have the term

(d) 'tsurvouli'

which even though of Turkish origin has become very much part of the Bulgarian lexicon. Here the translator has simply transliterated the term as *tsurvouli* and included an explanation of it in the extra-textual glossary. *Tsurvouli*, the glossary informs us, is a 'Moccasin-like shoe made of soft leather'.

Category IV: This group of Turkish loans is probably the most problematic for the translator from Bulgarian to English. These are Turkish loans which initially appear to have an 'equivalent' in the Bulgarian lexicon but where Khaitov has deliberately chosen not to use the Bulgarian. The following table cites some examples from the story.

<u>SL Word</u>	<u>SL Dictionary Entry</u> ⁵	<u>English</u>
(e) <u>komshiya</u>	<i>razg.</i> Sused	Neighbour
(f) <u>dere</u>	<i>obl.</i> Dol, dolchina	Gully
(g) <u>erbap</u>	<i>razg.</i> Smel; Sposoben	Brave; Capable
(h) <u>k'orav</u>	<i>razg.</i> Slyap	Blind

These Turkish loans are not only instantly recognisable as Turkish but the source language dictionary entry reveals that they also usually belong to conversational or regional registers. By virtue of these two facts, these words are also not normally found in Bulgarian literary works. These factors all need to be given consideration by the translator. Michael Holman has used phraseological renderings to achieve adequate equivalence in the target language text.

For example:

- (i) 'Imakh edin komshiya,...'
'This neighbour of mine,...'
- (j) 'Ako e za razplakvane na maiki - ya sum po erbap!'
'And if anybody's guts get used for garters, it'll be yours.'
- (k) 'Be ti k'orav li si!'
'Got eyes in your head, haven't you?'

It is obvious from the above examples that Khaitov writes in a very colloquial fashion and it is not only those colloquialisms containing Turkish loans which create problems for the translator. It is often very difficult to find adequate functional equivalents in the target language for Khaitov's colloquial language and stylistic neutralisation of the translated text inevitably occurs.⁶ To impart something of the colloquial colour of the Rhodope mountains into the translated text is a very difficult task indeed. Sometimes Michael Holman has tried to do this by including regionalisms and variations in the target language text.

For example:

- (l) '...kharesal be v Nastan edna zhena,...'
'...had took a fancy to a young lass in Nastan...'

At other times, it has proved much more difficult to achieve anything of the 'flavouring' of the original text.

For example:

- (m) '- Ei-seginka - vikam - shte ti smoukna kruvchitsata!'
'Right,' I says, 'see if spilling a little blood won't help!'

In the source language text we are immediately aware of the two diminutive forms used by Khaitov, 'seginka' and 'kruvchitsa'. Diminutive forms abound in the narration of our Rhodope bride-stealer. However, in the absence of a suitable equivalent in the English, there is little the translator can do. In addition, in the above example, instead of using the usual petrified expression 'shte ti izpiya kruvchitsata' ('I'll drink up your blood'), Khaitov has used a different verb in order to intensify the sentiment and emphasise the bride-stealer's forceful character. Khaitov

replaces the verb 'da izpiya' ('to drink up') with 'da smoukna' ('to suck'), thus creating additional problems for the translator. Such use of idiolect are quite common in the works of Khaitov.

There seem to be few 'hard and fast' rules which one can apply to literary translation. Consequently, this quotation from Martin Joos' book *The Five Clocks* seems appropriate:

'A certain railroad station in Ireland has two clocks which disagree by several minutes. When a helpful English traveler pointed out the fact to a porter, the reply was, 'Faith, sir, if they told the same time, why should there be two of them?''⁷

NOTES

¹ B. Hatim and I. Mason, *Discourse and the Translator* (London and New York: Longman, 1990), p. 223.

² Michael Holman, *Wild Tales* (London: Peter Owen, 1979), pp. 15-18.

³ Elizabeth Berridge, 'Recent Fiction', *The Daily Telegraph*, 16.8.79.

⁴ Michael Holman, 'Cultural and Linguistic Equivalence in Three Translations of Divi Razkazi', *Zeitschrift "Fremdsprachen"*, 3 (1982), 199-205.

⁵ Bulgarski tulkoven rechnik (Sofia: Naouka i izkoustvo, 1963).

⁶ Andrei Danchev, 'Razgovornata rech v tri angliiski prevoda na razkaza 'Puteki' ot Nikolai Khaitov', *Ezikovi problemi na prevoda <angliiski & bulgarski>* (Sofia, Naouka i izkoustvo, 1986) pp. 60-72.

⁷ Martin Joos, *The Five Clocks* (Indiana University: Mouton & Co., 1962).

MYTHOLOGISM AND THE CRISIS OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Elka Dimitrova

Mythical and historical consciousness are usually thought to be antipodes. They are interpreted in an antinomy. The possibility for actualization of mythical consciousness in different, not mythical epochs is presumed by both of the diametrically opposing hypotheses about myth. I mean the synchronical and the diachronical one.

Supporters of the diachronical hypothesis about myth define the appearances of mythical consciousness in postarchaic epochs as a "relic" or as a "result of regeneration" (see Lotman's and Uspenski's review of this problem in their paper "Myth, Name, Culture")¹. According to the diachronical hypothesis mythical consciousness is entirely inaccessible to us in its natural form because of its chronological remoteness. In other words - the homogeneous (or: monolingual, mythical) consciousness has been replaced by the heterogeneous (or: polilingual, non-mythical) one in the course of civilization and this process is irreversible.

For the supporters of the synchronical hypothesis heterogeneity is a primary attribute of human consciousness. That is why the presence of at least two mutually translatable systems (the mythical and the logistic or historical one) is principally necessary to human consciousness. That is - mythical and non-mythical consciousness exist simultaneously during all the epochs of human history and the appearance of mythical consciousness in post-archaic epochs is described as a predominance of one of the two types of consciousness which are immanent to human being.

In the contemporary studies of problems of myth and historicity putting a categorical dividing line between these two appearances of human consciousness is a kind of naivety. For example yet the representatives of the Anglo-American Archetypal Criticism (N. Frye, R. Chase, Fr. Fergusson), basing on Jung's and Frazer's traditions, come to a complete erasement of the division between myth and literature. They define myth as an appearance which is as contemporary as literature is.

The scholars tending to the psychoanalytical approach equalize dreams and myths. This way they admit the inseparability of mythologism from human consciousness as far as they study the dream as a "paradigmatic text of human

thinking". This idea is clearly defined yet by Jung who relates exact logical meanings to the mythical themes called by him "archetypes".

Such tendencies to relativity in comparing the mythical to the logistic consciousness can be observed in French structuralism, too - in the works of Cl. Levi-Strauss and R. Barthes. R. Barthes for example defines the contemporary society as a "privileged field of mythical meanings"².

In the same vein is Lossev's statement: "The belief in all-power of science is also a form of mythical consciousness"³, apart from his *Twelve Theses on the Ancient Culture*⁴, exposing the problem in a predominantly diachronical light.

In this train of thought Mircea Eliade's opinion about the connection between some specific characteristics of Avant-garde movement and the mythical consciousness⁵ is especially efficient.

These are only few of the studies on myth which represent it as a contemporary phenomenon and which can be taken for classical. It is a common fact that the whole modern thinking on myth is inclined to interpret mythologism as a characteristic of human consciousness which is inherent to all epochs.

I shall try to expose some ideas concerning the problems of mythologism and historicism with a view to the possibility for appearance of mythical type of consciousness in periods of crises of the historical one. To that purpose I shall use the phenomenon of modernity in culture, and especially - the Avant-garde movement from the beginning of our century. I shall take it in its literary appearances.

The Avant-garde movement as one of the faces of the socio-historical crisis of the beginning of XX c. in Europe has been studied in different aspects. One of the dominating directions of study is turned to the social and historical factors that presuppose it. Another wide-spread approach is studying the Avant-garde movement as a cultural or, in our case, literary fact. In this, second, case, notwithstanding the intertextual parallels, the broadness of socio-cultural methodology, the archetypal analyses and so on, the texts of Avant-garde movement have been observed in a relatively narrow plan, namely as literary texts. I was attracted by the possibility the texts of the Avant-garde trend to be analysed as a phenomenon of consciousness. I shall refer to one of the emblematic works of Bulgarian Avant-garde movement - Geo Milev's poem "September", in order to demonstrate the reflections of these processes in literature.

It is accepted the Avant-garde of the beginning of our century to be thought as a trend through which new notions of imagery and logic force their way and new visions for world are established. But what underlies these new notions and visions? I offer these facts to be read through the proposition about the activation of a mythical type of consciousness in socio-historical conditions which put the historical consciousness to a radical revaluation. To this effect some of the theoretical conceptions of the Avant-garde movement itself give reasons for this way directed research. I mean the largely announced ideas about irrationality, about the unconscious sources of art, about the crash of the rational tradition, about the falling into discredit of the logistic way of world- and self-description, and so on. The logistic adjustment left by the Enlightenment and carried till the period of Positivism and Realism proves to be incapable to explain the crash of its ideals in the conditions of crisis of the existing society - a crisis connected with a lot of social unrests, rebellions and after all followed and sharpened by the First World War. In such moments of crisis trends of alternative adjustment occur. They are usually thought through the

patern of modernity. Such trends are Romanticism, Modernism of the end of XIX - the beginning of the XX c., with its so called stages: Decadence, Symbolism and Avant-garde. European Avant-garde appears in a period when the basic supports of the social and the cultural thinking are being given a new meaning. And as far as this crisis obtains an existential character and acts in the conditions of the Christian culture, the questions about God and justice come to the fore. The two adjustments - the mythical and the historical one - enter into the general relations: history and truth, myth and truth. The end points of the question about God which has been put in the context of hesitation between the mythical and the historical explanation of the being are Eschatology and Progress. So catastrophism as a situation of the being puts the question about truth, about the soundness of human foundations in the world. But since the hitherto existing patterns of certainty have been radically disproved, the way of orientation in truth should be different, too. As though the problem cannot be solved any more by asking questions and receiving answers. For the simple reason that the institution of answer is shattered itself as well as the very belief in answers as a part in this scheme has become problematic. The problem obtains an entirely new projection - it projects itself into the very asking. It is no accident that such a phenomenological adjustment reflects into a new hermeneutic wave in philosophic thinking more or less at the same time.

This cultural background presupposes some radical changes concerning the view of world and the discourse of the literary texts.

The nostalgia of modern human consciousness for continuity lays the foundations of a specific two-dimensionality by creating a system of co-existence of a mythical and a logistic level. These two levels as phenomena of consciousness are the contemporary projection of the ancient division into "mythos" and "logos". The arisement of nostalgia is a situation which is rather similar to this of dreams and mystical appearances. It is a sign for moulding a reality which is different from the existing one. The nostalgia of historical consciousness for something different from it is a sign of willingness for creating myths in the conditions of a culture which is not mythical itself. The drama of historical consciousness - to carry nostalgias, to have a past, to keep a memory of the lost - springs from the obligatorily functioning ability of historical consciousness to dissociate the past from the present. In fact this drama proceeds from the impracticability of its homogeneousness. The opposite of this drama is the self-sufficiency of mythical consciousness to which the coexistence of the past and the present is not a problem. In the mythical cosmos the past in its function of a value-corrective is welcome to the present. Its temporal nature is strongly neutralized. Thus the drama of possessing a past opposes the harmony of not knowing what past is. History, on the one hand, with its two producing drama parts (past and present) opposes to the peace of the mythical completeness. (We should remember that self-sufficiency of archaic mythical thinking concerns different levels of its, not only the temporal one. For example, the most ancient devinities are androgynuous.) Myth is a story that prescribes how to live without suffering, a story that teaches that everything is immanent and apriori, or - that nothing depends on the subject. This is one of the great differences between myth and history. History is being created by subjects and exists through them, through their consciousness, memory and historical adjustment and these consciousness, memory and adjustment are not collective as the mythical are. In crises of historical consciousness mythical thinking is being activated and among the most indicative signs of this activation the changes in

temporal representations are. The periods of catastrophism in historical consciousness are usually connected with something that could be called "temporal collapses". The missing present and the eschatologic projections form one of the main semantical structures of the Avant-garde movement. The past and the present are ignored as values and as temporal continuity. They shrink to the advantage of the future. In symbolism this fear of the present is absent. At least it is not panic to that extent to which that is in the Avant-garde way of thinking, where this fear provokes destructivity, a desire for destroying the old world with everything well-known in it. Thereby the unknown is made a cult of on the principle of the Utopia. In this course of thinking an association with Freud's theory of instinct for death is possible. The instinct for death, a projection of which the "longing for Apocalypse" is, represents the most archaic form of seeking a satisfaction. It solves itself into a fusion of all elements in an endless matter in which no oppositions exist. Longing for Apocalypse is one of the basic motives and implied themes of Avant-garde works. It is the support of one of the main new myths by which the XX century announces itself. I mean the myth about the radical rebellion followed by a total destruction of the old world and afterwards - by rebuilding a new world from the very beginning. This myth upholds the paradoxical - and thought by its own creators as paradoxical - system of the chaotically-cosmic world of the main Avant-garde trends (Expressionism, Futurism, Surrealism, Dadaism and the broad, in a way - covering all of them concept of Existentialism). To this effect the provocative type of culture imposes on the relieved positivism and symbolism that precede the Avant-garde movement. They are more or less, traditional by nature. Or, to use Juriy Lotman's terminology, the Avant-garde poetics of opposition imposes on the poetics of repetition of the previous currents, which is based on following models accepted for classical. In this course of thinking the opposition: eschatologism - progress is one of the explications of the spirit of modern time. The Enlightenment myth of progress, continued in a sense by Positivism, meets its most evident crash in the inhospitable bosom of Avant-garde movement. There was no cultural epoch to strike a more shattering blow to the myth of constructive continuity, to the myth of progress, than the transient appearance of Avant-garde from the beginning of XX century did. After it the road for experiment was broadly opened, the road for "enbarbarianment" (according to Geo Milev's words), the road for ravaging the European cultural wealth which had been laid up for centuries was opened - in one blow and without any responsibility to the institution of History which had been striking fear for ages. The crash of confidence in history projects itself most evidently in the temporal orientation of this trend. Past is deleted. Present is reduced to a jumping-off place for jumping into future. It is no accident that the word "jump" occupies a key position in Bulgarian Avant-garde texts from the twenties. Breaking and depriving the temporal realities of meaning works in this direction, too.

"September will be May",

are for example the key words of one of the emblematic works of Bulgarian Avant-garde - Geo Milev's poem "September". In "September" Geo Milev makes an experiment on time, an attempt at time in a historical gap in time.

"September will be May."

An absurd confirmation - an incantation or metaphor, or maybe - a regression of the positive metaphor to its ancient function of incantation before it to become a metaphor? The idea of historicity, which is permanently being laid in the code

"September" (referring to the September rebellion) is sharply translated into a figurative language. There is a transition from documenting the event to reading it through its meaning in order its place in human value system to be found. (According to Gadamer's formulation.) But "May" is not only a metaphor. The transition September - May in the context of an already established literalistic inertia in which all the places of the rebellion are pedantically enumerated, makes in fact a sharp "tug" in temporality, thus resembling a transition from translatable to nominative semiosis. The descriptive, translatable discourse (typical for logistic consciousness) gives way to the nominative one (typical for mythical thinking). Here I shall mention the example for the difference between the nominative and the translatable semiosis given by Lotman who compared the statement: "The world is a horse." ("Upanishada", nominative, mythical semiosis) and the statement: "The world is matter." (translatable, logistic semiosis)⁶.

The constant indication for historical time - "September", and also "the autumn" in the context of historical September - appears so obtrusively and yet there is no historical time, as though there is no reflection of any ordinary historical temporality. There is no history, there is no historical continuity and meaning, there is only an universal essence of a rebellion. Here the function of the beginning position is important - the word "September" is always in the beginning of the sentence, in the whole poem. "September" is always begun with, thus there is no case in which the word can begin in a small letter.

The sentence "The Earth will be Eden" following "September will be May", comes to reassure us that there is a procedure of a complete transformation disguised by the words "September will be May". The syntactic parallelism and the rhyme connection of these sentences (in Bulgarian) combines them in a united semantic wholeness in which each of them explains the other. A complement in this course of thinking are the lines:

Human life
will be an endless ascent
- upwards! upwards!

After a total destruction of all the age-old fundamentals of the previous world and life, after a multiplication of the vision of death, after descending God from Heaven - this is what happens in the course of the poem, this idea of "ascent" completes the cosmogonic scheme of the Avant-garde works. This irrational, spontaneous mechanism of world improving by passing through an Apocalyptic terror is just the opposite of the Enlightenment and positivistic progress. In another socio-cultural and narrowly textual context these lines would sound only placard and declarative. But here this placardity is naked to such an extent that it cannot be interpreted simply as placardity. According to the subject of the poem everything was destroyed, disproved - from the common concept of history to the great cultural reminiscences of emblematic works of the European culture as "Iliad" and "Hamlet". So that these trivial statements turn into a final revelation of the will for entirely new life after the great catastrophe and the complete existential poverty. And it seems that this will should not be articulated in any abstract and veiled words just because it is final. So the discourse reveals to a simplicity in which the wishful repetition "Will be!" ascends to the Biblical "To be". Besides, in the Bulgarian poetical texts from the twenties the frequency of the verb "to be", apart from its auxiliary function, is remarkable - a fact which is symptomatic for problematizing of being.

The idea of historical catastrophe has also an ethic face which appears through the theme of God. The two main modi of truth in our civilization - history (the historical modus) and God (the mythical modus) have been shattered. So human consciousness, deprived from its supports in history and God, starts to build a new world from the very beginning. It destructs the old myths which are not any more natural to it but in this process it becomes a myth-creating subject itself while operating according to the mythical rules of cosmogony.

Christianity seems to be the first epoch of our culture which is conscious of itself as historical. It contains references both to the mythical and to the historical level of consciousness. Its temporal presentations are connected both with the mythical circle and with the historical vectorial projection. To this effect Christianity imposes a dialectical consciousness which is rooted in the very heart of Christian myths. There are also some possibilities for contradictions in Christianity which are being actualized in every existential crisis and are being transformed into existential and ethical contradictions concerning the very reality of human life. That is possible because Christianity, as every religion, has been functioning as a basic ethical and social system of humanity for ages. Such relevant contradictions are the two faces of God - the kind and the angry one; the two possible formal projections of Christ - Antichrist and Paraclete; the contradiction between the redemption of human sins by Christ and the fact that Christ announced the coming of Paraclete who would continue His mission, which means that everything is redeemed but nothing is completely redeemed. There is a possibility for contradiction concerning even the main opposition: God - Man, and thus tempting for wrong (with a view to the Christian dogma) interpretations. This last contradiction is based on the hypothesis that God is not completely God because one of his hipostases is Jesus Christ who is God and a man in the same time (God-man), and man is not completely a man because of the God's words : "I have said, Ye are gods; and all of you are children of the most High"⁷. This contradictions, of course, could be easily reduced to a wrong reading of Byble. But the important fact is that they lie at the deep bottom of human uncertainty and dissatisfaction and are largely exploited in epochs of crises. Thus for example Avant-garde movement is extremely drastic in putting the question about God. In the context of this cultural epoch this question sharpens to the extent of the opposition: blasphemy - theodicy, and these tendencies become an ideological actuality, they are not only problems of philosophical and theological discussions any more. The question about God lies at the bottom of the hesitation between historicism and logistic consciousness, on the one hand, and mythologism and religious consciousness, on the other hand. Because this hesitation is a projection of the state of loosing faith. To this effect the permanent asking about God and denying Him are rather a way of demanding, of expecting God. In the blanks left by the missing God different imagery and semantical constructs appear. These constructs build up the symptoms of a poetics which very much resembles absurdism.

Thus for example in Geo Milev's "September" on the place of God there is a faceless crowd that does with "ropes and levers" that what God has promised and only He can do.

with ropes and levers
we shall take the Heavenly Eaden
down
on the sorrowful

bathed in blood
terrestrial globe.

This strange travesty of the God's action, which has been greatly looked forward to, is quite resembling *Deus ex Machina*. It carries allusions for parody, but it also can be realised through the conceptual prescriptions of futurism. The function of God's providence, of God's principle is taken by a creation of man - the machine. The Utopia of machines as an Utopia of the human power takes the place of the almighty God's gesture.

The other important element in this scheme of travesting the God's gesture is much more disguised. This is the subject of the gesture who is hidden behind the grammatical form for first person, the plural. This is the lyrical author implied in this form. The Authoritarian Author who substitutes God is one of the modifications of the extraordinary part of the Author in texts of Expressionism. The hypertrofied author's subject is one of the features of Expressionism which defines itself as a trend of self-expressing (opposite to Impressionism for example). The author's voice, the author's subject occupies a new place - it turns into this all-absorbing I-We that identifies itself with the mass but never equalizes itself to it and permanently implies its own superiority. This new face of the Author actualizes one of the main ideologems of Expressionism - the new place of man in the world. What happens in "September"? Authorities are being problematized but this does not concern the authority itself. The authorities, established as confirmed, not-problematical by rule, are problematised. But it is done in an authoritarian discourse. The purpose is "DOWN WITH GOD" to be said in a loud voice and to be written in capital letters. The purpose is the calendar to be overturned - September to become May. The purpose is the cosmos to be overturned - the earth to be Eaden. But who will take the place of God in order to realize the change of calendar and cosmos? Who is this man? It is hardly likely this change to be made by that "shopi* with cudgels, wild boars, ignorants" - "ugly, hairy" and so on - the deprived of any subjectivity "characters" of the poem who are rather silhouettes, marionettes in the hands of the all-seeing, all-mighty and all-foreseeing Author. These deprived of any human characteristic creations can only mark presence on the places when in literature literary characters usually present. But these creations keep one of the keys to the poem. They are these markers for characters - without names - who are a function of the circumstances and thus resemble the erasing of the individual in favour of the situation and the event. Because to the collective memory it is important what happens and the rules of this happening, but not the character as unique. The alternative to this faceless mass is the hero - Andrey priest, but though he is unique, clearly outlined, he is not spiritualised, he is not a subject, he is rather an application for the purposes of the author's invention. The result in "September" is that there is only one voice, one subject in it - the voice and subject of the author. He is the one whom the Utopia belongs to. He is the final authority who is responsible for the great transformation, thus unconsciously taking the part of God in an authoritarian discourse.

There are yet other transformations of the mythical type of consciousness which can be found in the Avant-garde texts. For example - the destruction of the logical hierarchy and its substitution by a semantically-value one, some isomorphical figures on the place of synonymy, the specific functions of parataxis, much similar to these in incantation, some forms of implication that resemble the taboo, and so on. All this comes to prove a thesis suggested by Gadamer that every historical epoch has its mythical prejudices, as well as every mythical epoch has its historical horizon⁸.

* Shopi - the name of a group of people who live in one of the Bulgarian regions and speak a certain dialect. In this case it is a common name for bullheaded, stubborn, profane people.

¹ **Лотман, Ю., Успенски, Б.** Мит - име - култура. - В: Лотман, Ю. Култура и информация. С., 1992.

² **Barthes, R.** Mythologies. P., 1957.

³ **Лосев, А.** Миф есть чудо. - В: Философия. Мифология. Культура. М., 1991.

⁴ **Лосев, А.** Дванадесет тезиса за античната култура. - Култура, кн. 1, 1989.

⁵ **Елиаде, М.** Митове, сънища и тайнства. С., по Gallimard, 1957.

⁶ **Lotman, J., Uspenski, B.,** the quoted paper.

⁷ The Books of the Old Testament, Psalm 82:6.

⁸ **Гадамер, Х.-Г.** История и херменевтика. С., 1994.

BULGARIAN CYRILLO-METHODIAN STUDIES IN THE LATE 20TH CENTURY AND THE WAYS OF THEIR INNOVATION

Svetlina Nikolova

In the late 20th c. Cyrillo-Methodian studies in Bulgaria traditionally engaged the efforts of quite a number of the best Bulgarian specialists in the humanities. Today Bulgarian Cyrillo-Methodian research has considerable achievements, particularly in the field of textological studies¹ which are some of the most complex and which demand many-sided qualifications. This fact is interesting, bearing in mind that the Bulgarian scholars were the last in Europe to join the study of the Cyrillo-Methodian problems and shows that they have indubitably not only overcome the original lag at the beginning of the century but, on the eve of the 21st century, joined on an equal footing the general process developing in the world of researching the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage.

Cyrillo-Methodian studies, however, are an interdisciplinary field of the humanities which in future will need to master ever more the latest methods of different sciences. This process is becoming increasingly difficult for the individual specialist and for each separate national science. Therefore Bulgarian-American co-operation in the 21st c. in the field of Cyrillo-Methodian studies, developed during the second half of the 20th c. quite actively in the USA, may contribute essentially to the opening before the Bulgarian scholars of new vistas and methods of studying the overall complex of Cyrillo-Methodian questions. By saying co-operation, what I have in mind is actual co-operation which in my view in science means joint work on a particular set of problems, not working separately and then together discussing the results at various scientific meetings. Without overlooking the joint discussions of individual elaborations as a form of co-operation, I believe that it is joint research in particular which could quickly push forward Bulgarian Cyrillo-Methodian research by the use of new and more effective methods of work, and among the colleagues from the USA - stimulate the more active elaboration of the Cyrillo-Methodian problems.

This, in my opinion, could be achieved in several ways.

In the first place, naturally, joint studies are the best way of innovating the methods and problems of research, provoked by the personal interest of individual

scholars in particular problems. Its realization, however, depends very much on the establishment of close contacts between scholars with the same or close specialization. At first glance this is not very difficult in the present age of highly developed possibilities for rapid communications, already available in Bulgaria as well. The facts indicate, however, that in spite of that, practically no use is made of this method. It was not accidental that even at our conference which concerned many fields of Bulgarian studies, there was only one joint report by a Bulgarian and an American scholar. Admittedly, what has been said does not mean that this way should be neglected since it contains a very strong, perhaps the strongest, motivation for work. It supposes, however, individual efforts for joint activity in every concrete case which for financial reasons are rather difficult for the Bulgarian side. Yet we should hope that such research will increase in future.

More promising, it seems to me, is the second way of innovating the opportunities for Cyrillo-Methodian studies in Bulgaria during the 21st century — orientation towards large-scale interdisciplinary projects with proven effectiveness of the expected results which should be worked out jointly by teams of scholars from Bulgaria and the USA. These projects, in my opinion, could find the necessary financial and institutional support much more easily and will be of great importance for both the Bulgarian and the American participants.

The third way of innovating Cyrillo-Methodian research in the 21st c. with the aid of Bulgarian-American co-operation, which I believe could also be very useful, is the role of intermediary that American Bulgarian studies could play in opening a broader access for Bulgarian Cyrillo-Methodian scholars to related scientific fields with great traditions and achievements in the USA such as, for instance, Byzantine Studies, biblicistics, linguistics, art criticism, etc. It is precisely the opportunities to follow more closely the new tendencies in the development of kindred disciplines that would make possible the best use of new methods of research which are extremely necessary for Cyrillo-Methodian studies.

I regret to note that the last two ways of co-operation have not been applied so far. In my opinion, however, they are very promising and could be successfully used in the 21st century.

Here I will give only one example which concerns the second way, indicated by me, of innovating Cyrillo-Methodian research by the opportunities of Bulgarian-American co-operation which seems to me to be the most fruitful. It is the question of a project for the study and publication of hitherto unresearched early Bulgarian Glagolitic written tradition of the end of the 11th and the 12th c. As is well known, the Old Bulgarian Glagolitic manuscripts of the early period of the development of Slavonic letters, known so far, are very few and they were practically all discovered by 1850 — four almost complete manuscripts: of the Gospel Lectionary (*Codex Assemanianus*), the Tetraevangelion (*C. Zographensis* and *C. Marianus*), the Psalter (*Psalterium Sinaiticum*); four small fragments of the Gospel Lectionary (*Ohrid folia*, *Boyana Palimpsest*, *Zograph Palimpsest*) and of the Parenesis of Ephraem Syrus (*Rila Glagolitic Folia*) and one larger fragment of a Missal (*Euchologium Sinaiticum*), about 2,000 folia in all². They all have been published and many times researched, the studies in some cases being most extensive and numerous. In spite of that, however, one cannot claim at present that certain unresolved problems, connected with them, do not exist. In order not to go into details, I will only note that even such a global problem as the chronology of their emergence is today still in the stage of speculations.

There exist, however, two fully preserved Glagolitic monuments which have neither been studied nor published yet.

The first of them was discovered in 1975 by the monk Sophronios with another 40 until then unknown Slavonic manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai in Egypt and is kept at present in the monastery (No 3/N). This is a parchment Glagolitic full psalter, written simultaneously in round Glagolitic by two scribes who, however, were differently schooled in orthography. On its pages left his name a reader — Dimitri, whose orthography is very similar to that used by the second scribe who wrote 34 of the folios in the Codex and after his name the manuscript is called the Psalter of Dimitri the Oltarnik. In point of fact the first scientific data on this Psalter were published as late as 1988 in the Catalogue of the Slavonic manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery, prepared by the Greek scholar Ioannis Tarnanidis³. Since then not a single expert has worked directly with this Psalter, a photograph of it, published in the indicated Catalogue is at the disposal of the researchers. A few notes on the Manuscript and studies devoted to the additionally written in the Codex brief texts (the Pharmacopoeia and the Abecedaria) emerged on the basis of the I. Tarnanidis' description⁴. Further research of the problems connected with the Psalter itself is practically impossible.

According to Tarnanidis the Manuscript shows a later state of the language than the language of the well-known Psalterium Sinaiticum: a tendency to turn the nasals into vowels (мою, твою) and the reduced vowels into vowels (дѣнь, когда instead of дѣнь, кѣгда), the orthography varies considerably, unlike that of the Psalterium Sinaiticum and shows South Slavonic peculiarities. The Greek scholar, like almost all who have written on the manuscript later, refers the Psalter to Dimitri the Oltarnik circa the 12th c. At the same time, however, he believes that at the time of writing the manuscript the Glagolitic script was in everyday use, which is testified by the unique medical prescriptions inserted towards the end, written by a different scribe very experienced in the use of Glagolitic, according to Tarnanidis, for Slav monks in the Holy Land. He draws attention also to the circumstance that the original binding of the Codex has been preserved, which is, as far as I know, the sole instance in the Old Bulgarian Glagolitic manuscripts. Tarnanidis definitely points out that the Psalter of Dimitri the Oltarnik was more recent than the Psalterium Sinaiticum. If one judges from the only photograph of the text of this Psalter, on p.192 (No.7) of this publication, printed immediately against a photograph of the Psalterium Sinaiticum, there is noticeable similarity between the handwritings of the two manuscripts which no doubt gives rise to many questions.

B.Velcheva is inclined to refer the Psalter of Dimitri the Oltarnik to a time prior to the 12th c. or to the 11th-12th c., on the basis of the antiquity of the text and the language, while L. Shishkova accepts, without giving special reasons, the 11th-12th c. as the time of its emergence. Relying on an analysis of the contents of the note of Dimitri the Oltarnik and emphasizing that there are common features in the orthography of all scribes who wrote the texts in the book, B.Velcheva assumes that the Psalter was perhaps written in the northwestern part of the Peninsula of Mount Athos.

The second manuscript, which still has no scientific name and which I take the liberty of calling the London Psalter, came into view as late as in 1998. It is the last sensational discovery of an almost full Old Bulgarian text of the Psalter, written in neat round Glagolitic probably in south-west Bulgaria. This is how it happened. In

mid-March 1998 George Saint Andrew, consultant on the books and manuscripts of the well-known Christie's London house, rang up Dr Simon Franklin, a lecturer in Old Russian history and culture at Cambridge University⁵. He asked him for consultation in connection with the vellum Slavonic psalter, written in round Glagolitic, just received at Christie's for sale. On June 3, 1998 this incredible manuscript, kept for a long time in the family of Bulgarian emigrants, was sold for US 85,000\$, its price jumping more than three times over the original (US17,000\$-25,000\$). The manuscript was bought by the London dealer Sam Fogt for an unknown „European collector“, as he put it, but at the same time Fogt said that the manuscript would go to America (where according to unofficial information it is actually at present). It is with enormous regret that we can note that the Bulgarian written heritage from the Middle Ages, today, as in the 19th c., continues to leave Bulgarian territory. There is no doubt that the manuscript was in Bulgaria — only a copy of a Bulgarian newspaper from 1901 was found between its pages commemorating the assassination of King Umberto I of Italy the previous year. Today, two years later, we do not know with certainty neither when this manuscript of 132 folios was written, nor its history or what its significance for the study of the original Cyrillo-Methodian translation of the Psalter is. What is most absurd at the beginning of the 21st century — we do not know where it is and who its owner is, the manuscript itself remains totally inaccessible to scientific studies (a microfilm of it is kept at the British Library because that is an obligatory condition according to British law to obtain a permission to take the manuscript out of the country).

Similarities with Codex Assemanianus are noted in Christie's Catalogue, peculiarities in its composition as well as the mixture of many archaic and more recent linguistic features, the Manuscript being referred to the 12th–13th c⁶. This immediately reminds us of the prolonged scientific hesitations with respect to the dating of the earliest discovered Glagolitic manuscript, bearer of the Cyrillo-Methodian literary heritage — the Codex Assemanianus which for nearly two centuries since its discovery was regarded as a Croatian manuscript of the 13th c. Anyway, even the near future of the London Psalter remains as unclear as its past. Although the manuscript is in the USA, its unknown owner has so far not made even the necessary and easily done spectroscopic analysis of the ink so as to establish the authenticity of the Codex. As long as the physical authenticity of the book is not confirmed, there will always be doubts that this manuscript, unique in many respects, is a forgery.

Actually the size of the Codex is almost that of the Codex Assemanianus, and not of the Psalterium Sinaiticum and the Psalter of Dimitri the Oltarnik (8⁰). According to Mary MacRobert who for the time being is the only one to have studied the text according to the microfilm made at the British Library, the closest parallels of the handwriting provide the Codex Assemanianus and some handwritings in the Psalterium Sinaiticum — more precisely in its newly discovered part⁷. She believes that the manuscript is Middle Bulgarian and linguistically cannot be referred to the Old Church Slavonic manuscripts, and also that it is not as early as the manuscripts of the 11th c. In her opinion the decoration, ornaments and orthography direct one to parallels of the 13th c. such as the Grigorovič, Dečani and Radomir Psalters; the text follows the same textual tradition as the Bologna Psalter, but it also contains interpolations from a different redaction. In her view this makes it as important and rare as it would have been if it was a candidate for inclusion in the 11th century Old Bulgarian canon.

From it, she continues, one can draw the conclusion that Glagolitic continued to be used on the Balkans into the 13th c. but there is not a single text that has survived from that period, besides the text of the London Psalter. By many examples from the language and orthography of the Psalter C. M. MacRobert convincingly proves the blending of archaic with more recent linguistic features (characteristic even of the textual tradition after the 13th c. including the Church Slavonic up to the 18th c.). According to her, taking into consideration the palaeographic peculiarities of the Cyrillic marginal notes, it may be assumed that the manuscript was written not later than the early 13th c. But on the other hand she points out that, according to the linguistic and textological evidence, the 13th c. would be the earliest admissible boundary for dating the Codex while a more recent dating seems more probable.

The presence of teratological ornamentation, which is characteristic of the Bulgarian manuscripts chiefly of the 13th c. also speaks about a later dating of the manuscript. If one bears in mind, however, that in the London Psalter there are head-pieces and initials which without any doubt are in the style of the decoration of Codex Assemanianus, it may be concluded that the system of ornamentation also constitutes a blending of archaic and new features⁸.

The fact should be stressed immediately that such a combination (Codex Assemanianus plus teratology) has so far not been known from any Slavonic mediaeval manuscript. This fact could be interpreted in favour of the authenticity of the manuscript. Hardly any contemporary forger, who is well acquainted with the mediaeval Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts, would permit himself such a combination of archaic and new elements (in both the decoration and in the language and orthography, because he realises that such a combination would immediately raise doubts in the specialists. If the contemporary forger is not well acquainted with the Glagolitic and Cyrillic mediaeval scripts, it seems to me impossible to imitate specially a number of archaic features, particularly in the Cyrillic marginal notes. If the authenticity of the manuscript is established in an indisputable way, in this case the features of its ornamentation, its language and orthography will provide scholars with extremely interesting material for analysis, which will call for the revision of quite a number of views concerning both the development of the Bulgarian language and orthography in the Middle Ages, and of the system of decoration of the Bulgarian mediaeval book.

As is seen even only from the brief data on the Psalter of Dimitri the Oltarnik and the London Psalter, these two manuscripts are extremely important for the study of the Bulgarian Glagolitic letters as a whole. Namely, they could prove to be the key to determining the chronology of all the hitherto discovered Old Bulgarian Glagolitic manuscripts of the 10th-11th c. No doubt they will be of great help in the all-round outlining of the graphic, orthographic and linguistic features of the Bulgarian Glagolitic tradition since they contain some of the biggest texts and as a whole make up one-tenth of the volume of all the so far known Old Bulgarian Glagolitic manuscripts. They are of paramount importance for the study of the original Cyrillo-Methodian translation of the Psalter since, together with the Psalterium Sinaiticum, they are the only instance where a translation of the Slav First Teachers has been preserved in three full Old Bulgarian Glagolitic manuscripts. Moreover the total volume of these three manuscripts makes up almost one-quarter of the entire Old Bulgarian Glagolitic material at our disposal. The London Psalter may assume a key position also in the analysis of the peculiarities of the decoration of the Old Bulgarian Glagolitic heritage.

It is very doubtful, however, that only the realization of the traditional research may lead to trustworthy results with respect to the dating of the manuscripts, the determination of their graphic, orthographic and linguistic features and their comparison with the rest of the Old Bulgarian Glagolitic tradition, with respect to the history of the text of the Cyrillo-Methodian translation of the Psalter and of the features of the ornamentation of the Old Bulgarian Glagolitic manuscripts. It should be said immediately that at the moment these traditional studies are impossible because the two manuscripts are inaccessible for direct work.

Even if they were accessible, the traditional methods of studying the Glagolitic monuments of the 10th-11th c. that have been in use for nearly 150 years, would hardly lead to great progress. The need for a comprehensive study of these manuscripts by new methods becomes obvious even if only we mention the fact that the modern methods of analysis of the material on which they were written and of the inks have been applied for the dating of any of them, methods which could ensure a high degree of certainty of the results. Accurate dating is no doubt the first important task in the study of every Glagolitic monument! Not to mention the fact that the new methods of analysis of handwritings, introduced and perfected already in the 50s of the 20th c. in Latin palaeography⁹, could be adapted also to Glagolitic palaeography¹⁰, and the possibilities of modernizing the textological studies of Glagolitic manuscripts by computer software could be utilised, possibilities the realization of which with respect to the West European mediaeval tradition began already in the 60s of the 20th c.¹¹.

An all-embracing complex study of the two Glagolitic manuscripts mentioned could, in my opinion, be realized jointly by an American and a Bulgarian project in which interested Bulgarianists and Palaeoslavists from the USA should participate, as well as Bulgarian scholars, among whom today some of the best experts in Early Glagolitic Letters are. If such an institution (which in Bulgaria could be the Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) could be jointly realised by the American and Bulgarian sides, it could ensure such direct access to the manuscripts in the places where they are kept, and certain traditional research, as well as their publication and study by new methods which will be of the utmost importance for obtaining a true general picture of the development of Cyrillo-Methodian Glagolitic letters in general.

In this way Bulgarian-American co-operation in the Bulgarian studies of the 21st century in the sphere of Cyrillo-Methodian research could really be effective and fruitful, instead of limiting themselves only to mutually informing each other of the results obtained separately by the Bulgarian and American scholars, as has been almost fully the practice so far, important and useful, but unfortunately inadequately effective. That is why in conclusion I take the liberty of expressing my sincere hope that the Bulgarian-American perspective of Cyrillo-Methodian research in the 21st century will be just such a one.

NOTES

1 For a summary of the achievement of the textological research in the field of Cyrillo-Methodian studies in the past decades (up to 1993) with bibliography of the most important studies the Bulgarian included, see: *Николова, Св.* Актуални текстологически проблеми на кирилометодиевистиката. — В: *Славянска филология*. Т. 21. С., 1993, 31-48.

2 For the discovery and fate of these manuscripts see a summary in: *Николова, Св.* Съдбата на Кирило-Методиевото книжно наследство. — *Списание на БАН*, 1999, N 5-6 (under press).

DR. ALBERT LONG AND THE BULGARIANS. (1857–1877 з.). TO THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN BULGARIA DURING THE NATIONAL REVIVAL

In both Bulgarian and American science, research on American missionary activity in Bulgaria during the National Revival began only in the beginning of this century. The subject attracted considerable interest, with publications dedicated to the American Board for Foreign Missions and the American Biblical Society, among others. In Bulgaria, the study of American missionary activity during the National Revival was quite limited (in several studies of T. Ikonov, M. Stoyanov, P. Shopov and V. Traikov). None of the quoted authors, however, studied the relations of the missionaries with Bulgarian public, political and cultural life, or the role of the Methodist Church and its outstanding figure, Dr. Albert Long. Thus the connection between the American missionaries, and particularly of Dr. Long, and the Bulgarian National Revival remained untouched by science. After the end of World War II, interest in the subject increased. Between the 1960s and the 1990s American scholars studied the activity of the Methodist Church, compared it to that of the Congregational Church in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, etc. The studies of Prof. D. Clark and T. Nestorova are particularly closely related to the subject of this paper. Dr. Long was a remarkable person who should be acclaimed by both Bulgarian and American historical science. A person who, in accordance with his merit, should receive a place among a number of acknowledged friends of the Bulgarian people who contributed to the development of Bulgarian-American relations and who defended Bulgarian interests at times that were difficult for the Bulgarian people. This paper opens prospects for clarifying American influence on Bulgarian National Revival processes, with a continued quest of the role of American missionary activity in them.

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DIPLOMACY AND IDEOLOGY. BULGARIAN-AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1947 – 1950

The article deals with the diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and the United States from their formal establishment on October 1, 1947 until February 20, 1950 when the Note Verbale by the Department of State was delivered to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs notifying the recall of the American diplomatic mission from Bulgaria, and requesting the recall of the Bulgarian diplomatic mission from Washington.

The study is based on documents from the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the former Central Archives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the National Archives of the United States, and from Bulgarian and American documentary publications.

The relations between Bulgaria and the United States during the period were conditioned by the two countries belonging to the communist and the capitalist bloc respectively, and thus were strongly affected by the political and the ideological confrontation between the two blocs.

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Българо-американска перспектива
за научни изследвания**

Художник на корицата: Владимир Минчев
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